

T H E A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For JULY, 1789.

To the printer of the Amer. Museum,

S I R,
THE solution of the following queries involving much valuable information, you will oblige many of your readers by giving them a place in your Museum. From the spirit of enquiry and observation, which has lately extended itself through the united states, I flatter myself, answers will be obtained to them, through the medium of the same channel, in which the queries are made.

Are there any facts which prove, that longevity and fruitfulness have been promoted, by emigration to America from European countries?

Are there any facts which prove, that there is a diminution of the size of the human body, in successive generations in America?

What ages do horses usually attain in this country, under different kinds of treatment? and what is the greatest age, any of them have been known to attain to?

Are there any instances, in which wheat, rye, oats, or barley, have been found wild in any parts of America? or, are there any instances of apples, peaches, or pear trees, being found wild in the woods? What are the effects of cultivation upon the common crab apple?

Are there any instances of the influence of transplanting the whortle and blackberry into a garden, upon the quality of those fruits? Has a wine of any kind ever been made from them, and if so, what is its quality?

Is population among the Indians, out of the sphere of the European settlements, on the increase, or the contrary? or is it stationary?

In a late number of the Museum, I saw a letter from William Penn, in London, requesting the loan of a sum of money from his friends in Pennsylvania. Quere—Did they comply with that request?

I have several times heard and read of doubts being suggested, whether Carver made the extensive tour he has described; or whether his book be not compiled from those of Charlevoix, Hennepin, &c. I with some of your correspondents would so far gratify my curiosity, which I suppose similar to that of many of your readers, as to inform me whether or no this point has ever been satisfactorily ascertained?

Address of the governor and council of North Carolina, to his excellency general Washington.

To his excellency George Washington, esq. president of the united States.

S I R,
AMIDST the congratulations, which surround you from all quarters, we, the governor and council of the state of North Carolina, beg leave to offer ours, with equal sincerity and fervency, with any which can be presented to you. Though this state be not yet a member of the union, under the new form of government, we look forward, with the pleasing hope of its shortly becoming such; and, in the mean time, consider ourselves bound in a common interest and affection, with the other states, waiting only for the happy event of such alterations being proposed, as will remove the apprehensions of many of the good citizens of this state, for those liberties, for which they have fought and suffered, in common with others; This happy event, we doubt not, will be accelerated by your excellency's appointment to the first office in the union; since we are well assured, that the same greatness of mind, which in all scenes has so eminently characterized your excellency, will induce you to advise every measure, calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity, that may be excited by a mere difference in opinion; Your excellency will consider (however others may forget) how extremely difficult it is to unite all the people of a great country in one common sentiment, upon almost any political subject, much more upon a new form

of government, materially different from one they have been accustomed to; and will therefore rather be disposed to rejoice, that so much has been effected, than regret, that more could not all at once accomplished. We sincerely believe, America is the only country in the world, where such a deliberate change of government could take place, under any circumstances whatever.

We hope, your excellency will pardon the liberty we take, in writing so particularly on this subject: but this state, however it may differ in any political opinions from the other states, cordially joins with them, in sentiments of the utmost gratitude and veneration, for those distinguished talents, and that illustrious virtue, which we feel a pride in saying we believe, under God, have been the principal means of preserving the liberty, and procuring the independence of your country. We cannot help considering you, sir, in some measure, as the father of it; and hope to experience the good effect of that confidence you so justly have acquired, in an abatement of the party spirit, which so much endangers a union, on which the safety and happiness of America can alone be founded. May that union, at a short distance of time, be as perfect, and more safe than ever! and in the mean while, may the state of North Carolina be considered, as it truly deserves to be, attached, with equal warmth with any state in the union, to the true interest, prosperity, and glory of America, differing only, in some particulars, in opinion, as to the means of promoting them!

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

By order and on behalf of the council,

JAMES IREDEL, *president.*

By order,

WILLIAM J. DAWSON,

Clerk council.

May 10, 1789.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

IT was scarcely possible for any address to have given me greater pleasure, than that which I have just received from you: because I consider it not only demonstrative of your approbation of my conduct in accepting the first office in the union, but

also indicative of the good dispositions of the citizens of your state, towards their sister states, and of the probability of their speedily acceding to the new general government.

In justification of the opinion, which you are pleased to express, of my readiness, "to advise every measure, calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by mere difference of opinion," I take the liberty of referring you to the sentiments communicated by me to the two houses of congress. On this occasion, I am likewise happy in being able to add the strongest assurances, that I entertain a well grounded expectation, that nothing will be wanting, on the part of the different branches of the general government, to render the union "as perfect, and more safe, than ever it has been."

A difference of opinion, on political points, is not to be imputed to freemen, as a fault; since it is to be presumed, that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country. If the mind is so formed in different persons, as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view; and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen have often differed in judgment, as to the best forms of government—we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice, that so much has been effected, than to regret, that more could not, all at once, be accomplished.

Gratified by the favourable sentiments, which are evinced in your address to me, and impressed with an idea, that the citizens of your state are sincerely attached to the interest, the prosperity and the glory of America, I most earnestly implore the divine benediction and guidance, in the councils, which are shortly to be taken by their delegates, on a subject of the most momentous consequence, I mean the political relation, which is to subsist hereafter between the state of North Carolina, and the states now in union under the new general government.

G. WASHINGTON.

New York, June 19, 1789.

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Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, and its influence upon the human body. From medical enquiries and observations.—By Benjamin Rush, M. D. professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.—Printed and sold by Prichard and Hull.

THE state of Pennsylvania lies between $39^{\circ} 43' 25''$ and 42° north latitude, including, of course, $2^{\circ} 16' 35''$, equal to 157 miles, from its southern to its northern boundary. The western extremity of the state is in the longitude of $5^{\circ} 23' 40''$, and the eastern, in that of $87'$ from the meridian of Philadelphia, comprehending, in a due west course, 311 miles, exclusive of the territory lately purchased by Pennsylvania from the united states, of which, as yet, no accurate surveys have been obtained. The state is bounded on the south by part of the state of Delaware, by the whole state of Maryland, and by Virginia to her western extremity. The last named state, the territory lately ceded to Connecticut, and Lake Erie, (part of which is included in Pennsylvania) form the western and north-western boundaries of the state. Part of the state of New York, and the territory lately ceded to Pennsylvania, with a part of Lake Erie, compose the northern, and another part of New-York, with a large extent of New Jersey (separated from Pennsylvania by the river Delaware) compose the eastern boundaries of the state. The lands, which form these boundaries (except a part of the states of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey) are in a state of nature. A large tract of the western, and north-eastern parts of Pennsylvania, is nearly in the same uncultivated situation.

The state of Pennsylvania is intersected and diversified with numerous rivers and mountains. To describe, or even to enumerate them all, would far exceed the limits I have proposed to this account of our climate. It will be sufficient only to remark, that one of these rivers, viz. the Susquehannah, begins at the northern boundary of the state, twelve miles from the river Delaware, and winding several hundred miles through a variegated country, enters the state of Maryland on the southern line, fifty-eight miles

westward of Philadelphia; that each of these rivers is supplied by numerous streams of various sizes; that tides flow in parts of two of them, viz. in the Delaware and Schuylkill; that the rest rise and fall alternately in wet and dry weather; and that they descend with great rapidity, over prominent beds of rocks in many places, until they empty themselves into the bays of Delaware and Chesapeak on the east, and into the Ohio on the western parts of the state.

The mountains form a considerable part of the state of Pennsylvania. Many of them appear to be reserved, as perpetual marks of the original empire of nature in this country. The Allegany, which crosses the state about two hundred miles from Philadelphia, in a north, inclining to an east course, is the most considerable and extensive of these mountains. It is called by the Indians, the backbone of the continent. Its height, in different places, is supposed to be about one thousand three hundred feet from the adjacent plains*.

The soil of Pennsylvania is diversified, by its vicinity to mountains and rivers. The vallies and bottoms consist of a black mould, which extends from a foot to four feet in depth. But, in general, a deep clay forms the surface of the earth. Immense beds of limestone lie beneath this clay, in many parts of the state. This account of the soil of Pennsylvania is confined wholly to the lands on the east side of the Allegany mountain. The soil, on the west side of this mountain, shall be described in another place.

The city of Philadelphia lies in the latitude of $39^{\circ} 57'$, in longitude $75^{\circ} 8'$ from Greenwich, and fifty-five miles west from the Atlantic Ocean.

It is situated about four miles due north from the conflux of the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill. The buildings, which consist chiefly of brick,

NOTE.

* The author is happy in being able to inform the public, that a correct view of these mountains and rivers, with their heights, distances, and courses, will be published in a few months by Mr. Reading Howell, of the city of Philadelphia, in a large map of Pennsylvania.

extend nearly three miles, north and south, along the Delaware, and above half a mile, due west, towards the Schuylkill, to which river the limits of the city extend; the whole including a distance of two miles from the Delaware. The land near the rivers, between the city and the conflux of the rivers, is, in general, low, moist, and subject to be overflowed. The greatest part of it is meadow ground. The land to the northward and westward, in the vicinity of the city, is high, and, in general, well cultivated. Before the year 1778, the ground between the present improvements of the city, and the river Schuylkill, was covered with woods. These, together with large tracts of wood to the northward of the city, were cut down during the winter that the British army had possession of Philadelphia. I shall hereafter mention the influence, which the cutting down of these woods, and the subsequent cultivation of the grounds in the neighbourhood of the city, have had upon the health of its inhabitants.

The mean height of the ground, upon which the city stands, is about forty feet above the river Delaware. One of the longest and most populous streets in the city, rises only a few feet above the river. The air is much purer at the north, than at the south end of the city; hence the lamps exhibit a fainter flame in its southern than in its northern parts.

The tide of the Delaware seldom rises more than six feet. It flows four miles an hour. The width of the river, near the city, is about a mile.

The city, with the adjoining districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties, contains between forty and fifty thousand inhabitants.

From the accounts, which have been handed down to us by our ancestors, there is reason to believe, that the climate of Pennsylvania has undergone a material change. Thunder and lightning are less frequent: the cold of our winters, and the heat of our summers, are less uniform, than they were forty or fifty years ago. Nor is this all: the springs are much colder, and the autumns more temperate, than formerly, in so much that cattle are not housed so soon, by one month, as they were in former years. Within

the last eight years, there have been exceptions to part of these observations. The winter of the year 1779—80, was uniformly and uncommonly cold. The river Delaware was frozen near three months, during this winter; and public roads, for wagons and sleighs, connected the city of Philadelphia, in many places, with the Jersey shore. The thickness of the ice in the river, near the city, was from sixteen to nineteen inches; and the depth of the frost in the ground was from four to five feet, according to the exposure of the ground and the quality of the soil. This extraordinary depth of the frost in the earth, compared with its depth in more northern and colder countries, is occasioned by the long delay of snow, which leaves the earth without a covering, during the last autumnal and the first winter months. Many plants were destroyed by the intenseness of the cold, during that winter. The ears of horned cattle, and the feet of hogs exposed to the air, were frost-bitten; squirrels perished in their holes, and partridges were often found dead in the neighbourhood of farm-houses. In January, the mercury stood for several hours at 5° below 0, in Fahrenheit's thermometer; and during the whole of this month, (except on one day) it never rose, in the city of Philadelphia, to the freezing point.

The cold, in the winter of the year 1783—4, was as intense, but not so steady as it was in the winter that has been described. It differed from it materially in one particular, viz. there was a thaw in the month of January, which opened all our rivers for a few days.

The summer, which succeeded the winter of 1779—80, was uniformly warm. The mercury in the thermometer during this summer, stood on one day, the 15th of August, at 95° , and fluctuated between 93° and 80° for many weeks. The thermometer, in every reference, that has been, or shall be made to it, stood in the shade in the open air.

I know, it has been said by many old people, that the winters in Pennsylvania are less cold, and the summers less warm, than they were forty or fifty years ago. The want of thermometrical observations, before and during those years, renders it

difficult to decide this question. Perhaps the difference of clothing and sensation between youth and old age, in winter and summer, may have laid the foundation of this opinion. I suspect, the mean temperature of the air in Pennsylvania has not altered; but that the principal change in our climate consists in the heat and cold being less confined, than formerly, to their natural seasons. I adopt the opinion of dr. Williamson*, respecting the diminution of the cold in the southern, being occasioned by the cultivation of the northern parts of Europe; but no such cultivation has taken place in the countries, which lie to the north-west of Pennsylvania; nor do the partial and imperfect improvements, which have been made in the north-west parts of the state, appear to be sufficient to lessen the cold, even in the city of Philadelphia. I have been able to collect no facts, which dispose me to believe, that the winters were colder before the year 1740, than they have been since. In the memorable winter of 1739—40, the Delaware was crossed on the ice in sleighs, on the 5th of March, old style, and did not open till the 13th of the same month. The ground was covered, during this winter, with a deep snow; and the rays of the sun were constantly obscured by a mist, which hung in the upper regions of the air. In the winter of 1779—80, the river was navigable on the 4th of March; the depth of the snow was moderate, and the gloominess of the cold was sometimes suspended, for a few days, by a cheerful sun. From these facts, it is probable, the winter of 1739—40, was colder than the winter of 1779—80.

Having premised these general remarks, I proceed to observe, that there are seldom more than twenty or thirty days, in summer or winter, in Pennsylvania, in which the mercury rises above 80° in the former, or fall below 30° in the latter season. Some old people have remarked, that the number of extremely cold and warm days, in successive summers and winters, bears an exact propor-

NOTE.

* American Philosophical Transactions, vol. i.

tion to each other. This was strictly true in the years 1787 and 1788.

The warmest part of the day in summer is at two o'clock, in ordinary, and at three in the afternoon, in extremely warm weather. From these hours, the heat gradually diminishes till the ensuing morning. The coolest part of the four-and-twenty hours is at the break of day. There are seldom more than three or four nights in a summer, in which the heat of the air is nearly the same, as in the preceding day. After the warmest days, the evenings are generally agreeable, and often delightful. The higher the mercury rises in the day time, the lower it falls the succeeding night. The mercury from 80° generally falls to 68° ; while it descends, when at 60° , only to 56° . This disproportion between the temperature of the day and night, in summer, is always greatest in the month of August. The dews, at this time, are heavy, in proportion to the coolness of the evening. They are sometimes so considerable, as to wet the clothes; and there are instances, in which marsh meadows, and even creeks which have been dry during the summer, have been supplied with their usual waters, from no other source than the dews which have fallen in this month, or in the first weeks of September.

There is another circumstance connected with the one just mentioned, which contributes very much to mitigate the heat of summer; and that is, it seldom continues more than two or three days, without being succeeded by showers of rain, accompanied sometimes by thunder and lightning, and afterwards by a north-west wind, which produces a coolness in the air, that is highly invigorating and agreeable. [To be continued.]

Correspondence between Noah Webster, esq. and the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. president of Yale college, respecting the fortifications in the western country.

LETTER I.

From Noah Webster, esq. to the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1787.

Reverend sir,

YOU will recollect that, when I came to Philadelphia, last win-

ter, you wrote to dr. Franklin, requesting his opinion of the fortifications, which have been discovered in Kentucky and Muskingum, and particularly described by general Parsons and others, who have travelled into that country. The doctor could give no certain account of the time when they were raised, or by what nation; but mentioned the celebrated expedition of Ferdinand de Soto, who penetrated into that country as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, in search of gold mines; and thought it probable, the forts might have been erected by this commander, to secure his troops from the savages. The doctor's mind is a rich treasure of knowledge; but although he retained the principal facts respecting the expedition, yet he could not recollect, in what collection of voyages he had found the account. I took pains to examine several collections in his library, but without effect.

A few days ago, I was in a bookstore in this city, and accidentally laid my hands upon a small quarto volume, entitled the history of Florida, compiled by mr. William Roberts. It gave me much pleasure and surprise, on opening the book, to see the name of Ferdinand de Soto. I immediately procured the book, in expectation of satisfying myself, respecting the original construction of the fortifications west of the Allegany, which have caused so much speculation among the curious. This work contains a particular account of Ferdinand's expedition into Florida, which I have read with some attention. But I find it very difficult to determine, by this account, and the maps that accompany the work, how far he penetrated into the country, or in what particular places he wintered; for very few of the names of rivers and Indian towns, here mentioned, are used in modern times, in describing this part of the country. I will, however, abridge the account, and submit it to your superior knowledge of the geography of that quarter of America, to determine, where the places mentioned are situated, and how far Ferdinand must have travelled from the gulf of Florida.

Ferdinand de Soto had served under Francis Pizarro, in his conquest

of Peru. His good conduct recommended him to the emperor Charles V. who conferred on him the government of Cuba, with the rank of general of Florida, and marquis of the lands in it, which he should conquer. He sailed from the Havanna, on the 12th of May, 1539, with nine vessels, three hundred and fifty horse and nine hundred foot. On the 25th he anchored in the bay of Spiritu Santo. The troops were landed, and Ferdinand began to march in quest of gold mines, the principal object of all the Spanish expeditions to the new world. He directed his course first to the province of Paracoxi, a powerful Indian chief, which is said to be thirty leagues distant; but the course is not mentioned. He then went to Cale, which is said to be westward, but the distance is not noticed. On his way, he passed a rapid river, but its name is not mentioned. It is said that, seven leagues beyond Cale, is Palache, a province abounding in maize. Ferdinand left Cale, on the 11th of August, for Palache, which I take to be a river, that falls into the gulf of Mexico, on the north east, about fifty miles from the great river, now called Apalachicola, and (as it is laid down on the map before me) about one hundred and eighty miles from the bay of Spiritu Santo, where Ferdinand first landed. So far his march seems well ascertained. On his way from Cale, he passed through several Indian settlements, viz. Hara, Potano, Uimama, Malapaz, Cholupaba, and then through a desert of two days journey, to Coliquen. This must have been in the large province of Palache, which takes its name from the river, and from which the southern part of the Allegany mountains takes its name, Apa'hian.

Ferdinand stayed at Coliquen some time, and collected the troops which were left behind. On the 20th of September he marched, and in five days arrived at Napetaca. The course is not mentioned; but it is most likely to be northward. From Napetaca he marched to Uzachil, and thence, in two days, to Axille. Here he passed a river, and arrived at Vitachuco, which is said to be in the province of Palache. This province is said to be fertile and well peopled, houses and

villages appearing on every side. By the time spent in marching, one would suspect, that Ferdinand must have by this time penetrated far into the country. Yet the account says, he was but ten leagues from the sea: which, supposing it to be on the river Palache, could not be more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles from Spiritu Santo. Another circumstance corroborates this conjecture; Ferdinand dispatched a body of horse to Spiritu Santa, with orders for the party left there, to join him at Palache. The horsemen arrived in six days, which, at forty miles a day, will make the distance, two hundred and forty miles.

The party, upon this order, left Spiritu Santo, and coasting along, arrived at Palache bay on the 25th of December. Ferdinand dispatched Maldonado to reconnoitre the country westward: he went to Ochuse, sixty leagues from Palache, and returned with a favourable account of the country. Ferdinand then dispatched Maldonado with the fleet to the Havanna, for a supply of warlike implements. On the information of an Indian, that the country Yupaha, to the eastward, abounded in gold, Ferdinand left Palache on the 3d of March 1540, passed through Capachiqui, and arrived at Toalli. On the 23d, he proceeded through Achese and Altaraca to Ocuta, where the cassique, or chief, furnished him with four hundred Indians for service. He left Ocuta, on the 12th of April, and proceeded to Cofaqui and to Patoso. Not finding the gold mines which he expected, Ferdinand was embarrassed; but being informed, that to the north-west lay a fertile, well peopled province, called Coca, he changed his route, and encountering all difficulties, he proceeded to Aymay and Catafachiui. Here he was told, that, at the distance of twelve days journey, lay the province of Chiacha, which, by its distance and direction, with the analogy of names, I am inclined to believe, was some part of the country of the Chacaws or Chikaws. Thither Ferdinand determined to march. The distance from Ocuta to Catafachiui is said to be one hundred and thirty miles; from the latter to Xualli,

two hundred and fifty miles of mountainous country. This distance, reckoning from the river Apalache north-west, will bring Ferdinand into the Chikaw country, to the northward of the upper Creeks. The town of Chiaca is said to be situated at the forks of a river. Here the army rested for some time; and Ferdinand was told, that, to the northward of this, lay the country of Chisca which abounded in ore. He marched for Chisca and arrived at Acosta on the 12th of July. He passed through Tali and Cofa, Tallimuchuse and Itava: at the last place he was detained by the overflowing of a river; then proceeded to Uliballi, Toasti, Tallise, Tascaluca, Piacha, and Maville, where he had a severe engagement with the natives. Here he heard that Maldonado had arrived at Ochuse with the fleet from the Havanna; but he determined not to return, till he led his army into some rich country, where they might be rewarded for their toil and danger. He then marched to Pafallaya, and thence proceeded to Chicaca, where he wintered.

In April 1541, he left Chicaca, and passed seven days journey to Quizquiz, and then advanced to Rio Grande. This is undoubtedly the Mississippi, as it is described to be one and a half mile wide, very deep and rapid. Boats were constructed, and the army crossed into Quixo. Ferdinand marched to Pacaha, through Casqui; and was obliged, on his way, to cross an arm of the great river: he arrived at Pacaha in June. He then proceeded southward, to a great province called Quigate, then to Coligoa, Palisema, Tafalicoya and Cayas, to the province of Tulla, then to the province Autiamque, eighty leagues southward, where he wintered.

He left Autiamque in March 1542, and proceeded to Nilco, a fertile and populous country, on the banks of a great river. This is the same river, that waters Cayas and Autiamque; it flows into a larger river, that waters Pacaha and Aquixo: their junction is near Guachaya. The great river is called at this place, Tamalisen; at Nilco, Tapatu; at Cofa, Mico, and at the sea, Ri.

Ferdinand died of a fever at Guachoya, after having nominated Lewis

Mascofo to succeed him. Soon after his death, Lewis attempted to travel by land south-west to Mexico; he marched one hundred and fifty leagues west of the great river, but meeting with insuperable obstacles, the army returned to Nulco, at some distance from which was the town Minoya, where the Spaniards determined to build themselves some vessels, and sail out of the river, for Mexico. Seven vessels were finished in June, and the rising of the water carried them off the stocks into the river. The army embarked, July 2d, 1548; arrived at the mouth of the river on the 16th; on the 18th proceeded to sea, and, after a passage of fifty-two days, arrived in the river Panico, on the Mexican coast, having endured every fatigue, and lost half their number of men.

This account is very imperfect, and, in some instances, contradictory, as it stands in the history; the course, and distance of places, are not always mentioned, and the dates of events are wholly irreconcilable.

These circumstances, however, do not prove, that there never was such an expedition; they only prove, that the original writers or transcribers have been negligent.

The truth of the expedition is unquestionable; and, on this fact, I have only to make the following remarks.

1st. That Ferdinand, with an army of one thousand or twelve hundred men, wintered two successive years in the country called Florida, or between the gulf of Mexico and the lakes on the east of Mississippi; the first winter he passed near the gulf, and the second at a great distance to the northward*.

2d. That the remains of the fortifications, as they are described, are scattered in different parts of the country, and are of a size or extent, for securing and accommodating that number of men.

3d. The great river, mentioned in the relation, must be the Mississippi,

NOTE.

* "From the mouth of the Mississippi, to the Ohio, is about a thousand miles by water, and but five hundred by land." Jefferson.

which is deep and rapid, and from one and a quarter, to a mile and a half wide.

4th. Ferdinand must have been several hundred miles from the sea; for his troops were fourteen days navigating the river, from the place where the vessels were constructed, to the mouth.

5th. In the original, mention is several times made of salt-springs, which abound not only in Kentucke, but in Muskingum, and on the west of the Mississippi.

6th. It is said that several very large trees are grown out of the breastworks; this proves the antiquity of them; and Ferdinand's expedition was two hundred and forty-seven years ago,—a length of time, in which trees will grow to any size.

If this account can give any satisfaction to you or to other enquirers, it will gratify the wishes of,

Rev. sir, your most obedient,
and very humble servant,

NOAH WEBSTER.

(Letter II. in our next.)



An essay on the causes of the variety of complexion and figure in the human species. To which are added strictures on lord Kaime's discourse, on the original diversity of mankind. By the reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D. vice-president, and professor of moral philosophy, in the college of New Jersey; and M. A. P. S.

IN the history and philosophy of human nature, one of the first objects that strikes an observer, is the variety of complexion, and of figure, among mankind. To assign the causes of this phenomenon, has been frequently a subject of curious speculation. Many philosophers have resolved the difficulties, with which this enquiry is attended, by having recourse to the arbitrary hypothesis, that men are originally sprung from different stocks, and are, therefore, divided by nature into different species. But as we are not at liberty to make this supposition, so I hold it to be unphilosophical to recur to hypothesis, when the whole effect may, on pro-

per investigation, be accounted for, by the ordinary laws of nature*.

On this discussion I am now about to enter; and shall probably unfold, in its progress, some principles, the full importance of which will not be obvious, at first view, to those who have not been accustomed to observe the operations of nature, with minute and careful attention—principles, however, which, experience leads me to believe, will acquire additional evidence from time and observation.

Of the causes of these varieties among mankind, I shall treat under the heads—

I. Of climate.

II. Of the state of society.

In treating this subject, I shall not espouse any peculiar system of medical principles, which, in the continual revolutions of opinion, might be in hazard of being hereafter discarded. I shall, as much as possible, avoid using terms of art; or attempting to explain the manner of operation of the causes, where diversity of opinion among physicians has left the subject in doubt.

And, in the beginning, permit me to make one general remark, which must often have occurred to every judicious enquirer into the powers both of moral and of physical causes—that every permanent and characteristic variety in human nature, is effected by slow and almost imperceptible gradations. Great and sudden changes are too violent for the delicate constitution of man, and always tend to destroy the system. But changes, that become incorporated, and that form a character of a climate or a nation, are progressively carried on through several generations, till the causes, that produce them, have attained their utmost

NOTE.

* It is no small objection to this hypothesis, that these species can never be ascertained. We have no means of distinguishing, how many were originally formed, or where any of them are now to be found. And they must have been long since so mixed by the migrations of mankind, that the properties of each species can never be determined. Besides, this supposition unavoidably confounds the whole philosophy of human nature.

operation. In this way, the minutest causes, acting constantly, and long continued, will necessarily create great and conspicuous differences among mankind.

I. Of the first class of causes, I shall treat, under the head of climate.

In tracing the globe from the pole to the equator, we observe a gradation in the complexion, nearly in proportion to the latitude of the country. Immediately below the arctic circle, a high and sanguine colour prevails. From this, you descend to the mixture of red in white; afterwards succeed the brown, the olive, the tawny, and, at length, the black, as you proceed to the line. The same distance from the sun, however, does not, in every region, indicate the same temperature of climate. Some secondary causes must be taken into consideration, as correcting and limiting its influence. The elevation of the land—its vicinity to the sea—the nature of the soil—the state of cultivation—the course of winds—and many other circumstances—enter into this view. Elevated and mountainous countries are cool, in proportion to their altitude above the level of the sea—vicinity to the ocean produces opposite effects, in northern and southern latitudes; for the ocean, being of a more equal temperature than the land, in one case, corrects the cold, in the other, moderates the heat. Ranges of mountains, such as the Appennines in Italy, and Taurus, Caucasus, and Imaus in Asia, by interrupting the course of cold winds, render the protected countries below them warmer, and the countries above them colder, than is equivalent to the proportional difference of latitude. The frigid zone in Asia is much wider, than it is in Europe; and that continent hardly knows a temperate zone. From the northern ocean to Caucasus, says Montesquieu, Asia may be considered as a flat mountain. Thence, to the ocean that washes Persia and India, it is a low and level country, without seas, and protected by this immense range of hills from the polar winds. The Asiatic is, therefore, warmer than the European continent, below the fortieth degree of latitude; and, above that latitude, it is much more cold. Climate also receives some dif-

ference from the nature of the soil ; and some from the degree of cultivation. Sand is susceptible of greater heat than clay ; and an uncultivated region, shaded with forests, and covered with undrained marshes, is more frigid in northern, and more temperate in southern latitudes, than a country laid open to the direct and constant action of the sun. History informs us, that, when Germany and Scythia were buried in forests, the Romans often transported their armies across the frozen Danube ; but, since the civilization of those barbarous regions, the Danube rarely freezes. Many other circumstances might be enumerated, which modify the influence of climate. These will be sufficient to give a general idea of the subject : and by the intelligent reader they may be easily extended, and applied to the state of particular countries.

From the preceding observations we derive this conclusion, that there is a general ratio of heat and cold, which forms what we call climate, and a general resemblance of nations, according to the latitude from the equator—subject, however, to innumerable varieties, from the infinite combinations of the circumstances I have suggested. After having exhibited the general effect, I shall take up the capital deviations from it, that are found in the world, and endeavour to shew that they naturally result from certain concurrences of these modifying causes.

Our experience verifies the power of climate on the complexion. The heat of summer darkens the skin, the cold of winter chafes it, and excites a sanguine colour. These alternate effects, in the temperate zone, tend in some degree to correct each other. But when heat or cold predominates in any region, it impresses, in the same proportion, a permanent and characteristic complexion. The degree, in which it predominates, may be considered as a constant cause, to the action of which the human body is exposed. This cause will affect the nerves, by tension or relaxation, by dilatation or contraction—it will affect the fluids, by increasing or lessening the perspiration, and by altering the proportions of all the secretions—it will peculiarly affect the skin, by the immediate ope-

ration of the atmosphere—of the sun's rays—or of the principle of cold, upon its delicate texture. Every sensible difference in the degree of the cause, will create a visible change in the human body. To suggest at present a single example—a cold and piercing air chafes the countenance and exalts the complexion—an air that is warm and misty, relaxes the constitution, and gives, especially in valetudinarians, some tendency to a bilious hue. These effects are transient, and interchangeable, in countries where heat and cold alternately succeed in nearly equal proportions. But when the climate constantly repeats the one or the other of these effects in any degree, then, in proportion, an habitual colour begins to be formed. Colour and figure may be styled habits of the body. Like other habits, they are created not by great and sudden impressions, but by continual and almost imperceptible touches. Of habits, both of mind and body, nations are susceptible, as well as individuals. They are transmitted to their offspring, and augmented by inheritance. Long in growing to maturity, national features, like national manners, become fixed, only after a succession of ages. They become, however, fixed at last. And if we can ascertain any effect, produced by a given state of weather or of climate, it requires only repetition during a sufficient length of time, to augment and impress it with a permanent character. The sanguine countenance will, for this reason, be perpetual in the highest latitudes of the temperate zone ; and we shall forever find the swarthy, the olive, the tawny, and the black, as we descend to the south.

The uniformity of the effect in the same climate, and on men in a similar state of society, proves the power and certainty of the cause. If the advocates of different human species suppose that the beneficent Deity created the inhabitants of the earth of different colours, because these colours are best adapted to their respective zones, it surely places his benevolence in a more advantageous light, to say, he has given to human nature the power of accommodating itself to every zone. This pliancy of nature is favourable to the unions of the most

distant nations, and facilitates the acquisition and the extension of science, which would otherwise be confined to few objects, and to a very limited range. It opens the way particularly to the knowledge of the globe which we inhabit—a subject so important and interesting to man. It is verified by experience. Mankind are forever changing their habitations, by conquest or by commerce. And we find them, in all climates, not only able to endure the change, but so assimilated by time, that we cannot say with certainty, whose ancestor was the native of the clime, and whose the intruding foreigner.

I will here propose a few principles on the change of colour, that are not liable to dispute, and that may tend to shed some light on this subject.

In the beginning, it may be proper to observe, that the skin, though extremely delicate, and easily susceptible of impression from external causes, is, from its structure, among the least mutable parts of the body*. Change of complexion does for this reason continue long, from whatever cause it may have arisen. And if the causes of colour have deeply penetrated the texture of the skin, it becomes perpetual. Figures, therefore, that are stained with paints inserted by punctures made in its surface, can never be effaced†. An ardent sun is able entirely to penetrate its texture. Even in our climate, the skin, when first

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* Anatomists inform us, that, like the bones, it has few or no vessels, and therefore is not liable to those changes of augmentation or diminution, and continual alteration of parts, to which the flesh, the blood, and the whole vascular system is subject.

† It is well known, what a length of time is required to efface the freckles, contracted in a fair skin, by the exposure of a single day. Freckles are seen of all shades of colour. They are known to be created by the sun; and become indelible by time. The sun has power equally to change every part of the skin, when equally exposed to its action. And it is, not improperly, observed by some writers, that colour may be justly considered as an universal freckle.

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exposed to the direct and continued action of the solar rays, is inflamed into blisters, and scorched through its whole substance. Such an operation not only changes its colour, but increases its thickness. The stimulus of heat exciting a greater flux of humours to the skin, tends to incrassate its substance, till it becomes dense enough to resist the action of the exciting cause‡. On the same principle, friction excites blisters in the hand of the labourer, and thickens the skin, till it becomes able to endure the continued operation of his instruments. The face of the hand, exposed uncovered during an entire summer, contracts a colour of the darkest brown. In a torrid climate, where the inhabitants are naked, the colour will be as much deeper, as the ardor of the sun is more constant and more intense. And if we compare the dark hue, that, among us, is sometimes formed by continual exposure, with the colour of the African, the difference is not greater, than is proportioned to the augmented heat and confluency of the climate||.

The principle of colour is not, however, to be derived solely from the action of the sun upon the skin. Heat, especially, when united with putrid exhalations, that copiously impregnate the atmosphere in warm and uncultivated regions, relaxes the nervous system. The bile, in consequence, is augmented, and shed through the whole mass of the body. This liquor tinges the complexion of a yellow colour, which assumes by time a darker hue. In many other instances, we see, that relaxation, whether it be caused by the vapours of stagnant waters, or by sedentary occupations, or by loss of blood, or by indolence, subjects men to disorders of the bile, and discolours the skin. It has been proved,

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‡ Anatomists know, that all people of colour have their skin thicker than people of a fair complexion, in proportion to the darkness of the hue.

|| If the force of fire be sufficient, at a given distance, to scorch the fuel, approach it as much nearer, as is proportional to the difference of heat between our climate and that of Africa, and it will burn it black.

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by physicians, that, in fervid climates, the bile is always augmented in proportion to the heat*. Bile exposed to the sun and air, is known to change its colour to black—black is therefore the tropical hue. Men, who remove from northern to southern regions, are usually attacked by dangerous disorders, that leave the blood impoverished, and shed a yellow appearance over the skin. These disorders are perhaps the efforts of nature, in breaking down and changing the constitution, in order to accommodate it to the climate; or to give it that degree of relaxation, and to mingle with it that proportion of bile, which is necessary for its new situation†. On this dark ground, the hue of the climate becomes, at length, deeply and permanently impressed.

On the subject of the physical causes of colour, I shall reduce my principles to a few short propositions, derived chiefly from experience and observation, and placed in such connexion, as to illustrate and support each other. They may be enlarged and multiplied by men of leisure and talents, who are disposed to pursue the inquiry farther.

1. It is a fact, that the sun darkens the skin, although there be no uncommon redundancy of the bile.

2. It is also a fact, that a redundancy of bile darkens the skin, although there be no uncommon exposure to the sun‡.

3. It is a fact equally certain, that,

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* See dr. M'Clurg on the bile.

† Physicians differ in their opinions, concerning the state of the bile in warm countries. Some suppose that it is thrown out to be a corrector of putridity. Others suppose, that, in all relaxed habits, the bile is itself in a putrid state. I decide not among the opinions of physicians. Whichever be true, the theory I advance will be equally just. The bile will be augmented; it will tinge the skin; and there, whether in a sound or putrid state, will receive the action of the sun and atmosphere, and be, in proportion, changed towards black.

‡ Redundancy of bile long continued, as in the case of the black jaundice, or of extreme melancholy, creates a colour almost perfectly black.

where both causes co-operate, the effect is much greater, and the colour much deeper||.

4. It is discovered by anatomists, that the skin consists of three lamellæ, or folds—the external, which, in all nations, is an extremely fine and transparent integument—the interior, which is also white—and an intermediate, which is a cellular membrane, filled with a mucous substance.

5. This substance, what ever it be, is altered in its appearance and colour, with every change of the constitution—as appears in blushing, in fevers, or in consequence of exercise. A lax nerve, that does not propel the blood with vigour, leaves it pale and fallow—it is instantly affected with the smallest surcharge of bile, and stained of a yellow colour.

6. The change of climate produces a proportionate alteration in the internal state and structure of the body, and in the quantity of the secretions*. In southern climates particularly, the bile, as has been remarked, is always augmented.

7. Bile, exposed to the sun and air, in a stagnant, or nearly in a stagnant state, tends in its colour towards black.

8. The secretions, as they approach the extremities, become more languid in their motion, till at length they come almost to a fixed state in the skin.

9. The aqueous parts escaping easily by perspiration through the pores of the skin, those that are more dense and incrassated remain in a mucous or glutinous state, in that cellular membrane between the interior skin and the scarf, and receive there, during a long time, the impressions of external and discolouring causes.

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|| This we see verified in those persons, who have been long subject to bilious disorders, if they have been much exposed to the sun. Their complexion becomes in that case extremely dark.

* This appears from the disorders, with which men are usually attacked, on changing their climate; and from the difference of figure and aspect, which takes place in consequence of such removals. This latter reflexion will hereafter be further illustrated.

10. The bile is peculiarly liable to become mucous and incrassated†; and in this state, being unfit for perspiration, and attaching itself strongly to that spongy tissue of nerves, it is there detained for a length of time, till it receives the repeated action of the sun and atmosphere.

11. From all the preceding principles taken together, it appears, that the complexion, in any climate, will be changed towards black, in proportion to the degree of heat in the atmosphere, and to the quantity of bile in the skin.

12. The vapours of stagnant waters, with which uncultivated regions abound—all great fatigues and hardships—poverty and nastiness—tend, as well as heat, to augment the bile. Hence, no less than from their nakedness, savages will always be discoloured, even in cold climates. For, though cold, when assisted by succulent nourishment, and by the comfortable lodging and clothing furnished in civilized society, propels the blood with force to the extremities, and clears the complexion; yet when hardships and bad living relax the system, and when poor and shivering savages, under the arctic cold, do not possess those conveniences, that, by opening the pores, and cherishing the body, assist the motion of the blood to the surface, the florid and sanguine principle is repelled; and the complexion is left to be formed by the dark-coloured bile; which, in that state, becomes the more dark, because the obstruction of the pores preserves it longer in a fixed state in the skin. Hence, perhaps, the deep Lapponian complexion, which has been esteemed a phenomenon so difficult to be explained.

13. Cold, where it is not extreme*, is followed by a contrary effect. It corrects the bile, it braces the consti-

tution, it propels the blood to the surface of the body with vigour, and renders the complexion clear and florid†.

Such are the observations, which I propose, concerning the proximate cause of colour in the human species. But I remark, with pleasure, that, whether this theory be well founded or not, the fact may be perfectly ascertained, that climate has all that power to change the complexion, which I suppose, and which is necessary to the present subject. It appears from the whole state of the world—it appears from obvious and undeniable events within the memory of history, and from events even within our own view.

Account of the Society of Dunkards in Pennsylvania. Communicated by a British officer to the editor of the Edinburgh Magazine.

SEB, Edin. April 27, 1786.

THE whole road, from Lancaster to Ephrata, affords a variety of beautiful prospects; the ground is rich and well cultivated, the wood (excepting upon the road, where it serves as a shelter from the piercing beams of the sun) thoroughly cleared, and the meadows abundantly watered by numerous refreshing springs. About twelve miles from Lancaster, we left the great road, and struck into the woods, through which we were led by "wildly devious paths" to the delightful spot where Ephrata stands. The situation of this place is most judiciously chosen; it is equally sheltered from the piercing cold winds of winter, and the beams of the sun in summer; an extensive orchard supplies the inhabitants with peaches, apples, cherries, &c. their beautiful gardens with every vegetable they can desire.

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hardships and other evils of savage life, renders the complexion darker beneath the arctic circle, than it is in the middle regions of the temperate zone, even in a savage state of society.

† Cold air is known to contain a considerable quantity of nitre; and this ingredient is known to be favourable to a clear and ruddy complexion.

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† In this state it is always copiously found, in the stomach and intestines, at least in consequence of a bilious habit of body.

* Extreme cold is followed by an effect similar to that of extreme heat: it relaxes the constitution by overstraining it, and augments the bile. This, together with the fatigues,

The rivulet which serves as a boundary to their possessions upon one side, is, though small, of infinite advantage to their grounds; and, in its course, drives a paper-mill, from which they derive considerable profits.

We arrived about the hour of breakfast, and were most hospitably entertained by the prior, Peter Miller, a German. He is a judicious, sensible, intelligent man; he had none of that stiffness, which might naturally have been expected from his retired manner of life; but seemed easy, cheerful, and exceedingly desirous to render us every information in his power. While breakfast was preparing, he proposed to give us some account of their society; which, as it was the chief object of our journey, we very willingly acceded to.

He told us, that their society was established about fifty years ago, by a very worthy old man, by birth, a German, who had, from repeated and numerous misfortunes, formed a rooted disgust to society, and had retired from the world for some years. Several others, both male and female, from similar misfortunes, or other causes, had likewise retired; and, from their habitations being contiguous, they had sometimes opportunities of seeing and conversing with each other. As their dislike to society diminished, and their love of social harmony increased, these meetings became more and more frequent; they began to feel the inconvenience of total solitude; similarity of sentiment and situation attached them to each other; and they ardently wished for the suggestion of some scheme, which might tend to link them together still more closely. The sagacious old German, whom they revered as a father, at length proposed the present society. He pointed out to them the many and great advantages, which would be derived from such a scheme; and, with very great pains, wrote out a code of laws for the regulation of their future conduct. His rules, though rigid, were admirably contrived, to preserve order and regularity in such a numerous society; he held forth to them, how absolutely necessary it was, to submit with implicit obedience to the rules prescribed; at length, by his eloquence, which seems to have been very great,

he formed a perfect union; and, having obtained a grant of land, they began their work with ardour and activity. A spirit of enthusiasm seems to have inspired the whole; unassisted by any thing but their own labour, they in three weeks erected the three buildings which yet remain, and which, from their present sound state, prove them to have been built of substantial materials. Their whole society, at this period, amounted to about fifty men and thirty women; they lived in harmony, innocence, and peace, nor had any of them ever expressed the smallest disgust, at the severe and rigid discipline they had sworn to observe. The most remarkable vows, and upon which all the other depended, were chastity, poverty, and obedience; a desire to encroach upon the first of these, and an impatience of the last, proved the first source of contention, and occasioned a temporary revolution, which at one time threatened to exterminate them for ever.

Among those who had last joined them, were two brothers, men of active, daring spirits; bold and enterprising, but headstrong and obstinate. These men had experienced a multiplicity of adventures; they had been alternately rich and poor, happy and miserable; they had traversed the whole continent of America; had been engaged in innumerable pursuits, and been exposed to a variety of dangers; from some unlucky hits, however, or suspicious dealings, they found it necessary to abscond. They conceived a rooted disgust for a world, which would no longer be the dupe of their villainy; they became hermits, and professed to be the warmest enthusiasts in religion; they had resided for a considerable time in the back parts of New England; in which retreat, they heard of the dunkards, and seemingly from motives of pure piety, were induced to join them.

For some time after their arrival, their behaviour was most exemplary; they were active and industrious, and were constantly the first in their numerous religious exercises; they were universally esteemed, and in very high estimation with the original founder, who had now attained the title of spiritual father. This good

man seems really to have been a most finished character: he saw the necessity there was for a president or ruler to this numerous body; but saw likewise, that a strict attendance upon this duty would too much interfere with the acts of devotion, in which he so much delighted: he therefore fixed upon an old German, a man of profound sense and exemplary piety, to perform this office—This man was invested with unlimited authority: his voice was a law, but he did not abuse his power; his whole behaviour was truly noble.

One of the brothers already mentioned had attained to the place of treasurer to the society; for notwithstanding their vow of poverty, they had always a stock of cash by them, in case of particular exigencies. Some failures here first created suspicions of this man: he was aware of his danger, and had been tampering with some of the weaker brethren for some time; the prior interfered; an investigation took place, and they soon found that he had embezzled the cash to a very considerable amount; they likewise discovered, that he had been guilty of some most infamous debaucheries in the adjacent country, and that he had formed a party in the society, to depose the present prior, and be elected in his room. An immediate confusion commenced; parties were formed; and it seemed as if a final end was to be put to this innocent and industrious society. This scoundrel had polluted the minds of many of the brethren, with ideas of independence, and with rebellious notions, perfectly inconsistent with their original constitution: he was an artful, cunning, designing man: he displayed, in the strongest colours, the servility they were held in, and argued the natural freedom of mankind in support of his opinion. He was listened to with attention, and he did not fail to make use of his good fortune: that enthusiasm, which at first inspired them, arose chiefly from novelty of situation, or respectful adoration of the good old German; these feelings, in many of them, were blunted, in some, totally subdued; which proved no small assistance to him in his endeavours. Things seemed approaching to a crisis; business

was at an end; even their religious duties were for a while suspended, and, an immediate revolution was expected. This little society was an epitome of the most celebrated revolutions; fears, jealousies, suspicions, invaded the heart of each member of the community: the good brothers were intimidated by the greatness of the danger; the bad were not yet prepared for a general revolt.

Things had continued in this situation for five days; upon the sixth, in the morning, the old prior, Peter Miller the present prior, who was at that time printer, and ten more of the original institutors, went and boldly seized the brothers. Resistance was vain; they carried them into the great hall; the whole brotherhood was soon collected, and the spiritual father made his appearance. The venerable figure of this good man, his rigid devotion, his exemplary piety, his numerous virtues, struck at once upon their minds, and they listened to him with attention, whilst he made a very long and pathetic harangue. He lamented the melancholy occasion of this meeting; recounted the causes, which had first brought them together; gave them a clear view of their original institution, of the oath which they had made to obey implicitly the rules prescribed, the happiness they had experienced, previous to the admission of these wicked brothers, and the fatal consequences, which would inevitably arise from being left to themselves, or the still more dreadful alternative of submitting to be governed by such a reprobate: he then finished, by proposing to banish this vagabond from their society; to permit any other discontented members to depart in peace; and, finally, that the great power of the prior should be somewhat limited.

This speech had the desired effect; the instigator of this rebellion was banished; and Peter told me, he retired to Canada; the other brother, with a few of the members who were discontented, left them, and all things remained upon the same footing as before. Thus was this dangerous revolution, which seemed to threaten their destruction, finally ended, and their former happiness re-established. What is most extraordinary, the women were entirely passive in this affair, and

received the acknowledgments of the Society for their behaviour.

For some time previous to this revolution, the good old spiritual father had retired to a hut about a mile from Ephrata, chiefly with a view of indulging himself more freely in his devotions. After this period, he became more and more attached to his solitude, and seldom made his appearance in public; a settled melancholy seemed to oppress him, and he died, poor man, in the course of the year, eleven years from their institution. He was buried at the door of his cabin; a flat stone is laid over his grave, but at his own desire there is no inscription. The hut yet remains; and Peter tells me, he often retires to it, and waters the good man's grave with his tears. Some few years after this, the prior died, and Peter Miller was unanimously elected in his room. They have lived in harmony and peace ever since; they never quarrel: indeed, Peter says, his office is merely nominal, as he has never once had occasion to exert the authority vested in him.

They are now reduced to seven men and five women. Their original grant of lands consisted of several thousand acres: part was wrested from them by force, part was disposed of to settlers, who chose to live near them, and who entertain the same religious opinions, and attend at the place of public worship on Sundays and holidays, of which they have a great number.

The number of these people may amount to five hundred; but they have no manner of connexion with the dunkards at Ephrata (though they bear the same name,) farther than a similarity of religious opinion. Many of them, from choice, wear the same dress, and allow their beards to grow; which may have given rise to the mistake of several gentlemen, who have written upon this subject. It is likewise to be observed, that the menonists of Pennsylvania affect this mode of dress; and that many widowers in the back settlements assume no other mourning than a long beard; all which may have deceived cursory observers, and given rise to the opinion of these people being so very numerous.

The ground they at present possess, and where their town is built, is not above six acres. It is almost filled with fruit trees; the rivulet formerly mentioned, serves as a boundary on one side, and the rest is inclosed by a deep ditch and hornbeam hedge. The town consists of three wooden houses of three story high each, and a few outer houses: the cells of the brethren are exceedingly small, and the windows and doors extremely ill-contrived for a hot climate; the doors in particular are narrow and very low. I enquired, but could not discover, the cause of this awkward and inconvenient mode of building. Each brother has a cell with a closet adjoining; he is supplied with a table, a chair, and a bench for sleeping on; the bench is covered with a woolen mat, and a billet of wood for a pillow; the smallness and darkness of the rooms are extremely disagreeable, and they were by no means clean: their dress likewise is most unfavourable to cleanliness; and in fact, my friend Peter had a most unfavourable smell: his winter dress was not laid aside, though it was the middle of May, and very warm weather; and his gown of white flannel had attained a yellow hue from the perspiration, which really proved a most unseemly sight: the length and blackness of his beard, with the greasiness of his cowl or hood, for they wear no hats, added not a little to the uncouthness of his figure. They are most unfavourable; they do not eat together, but each in his own cell, which literally serves him for kitchen, for parlour, and hall: they are continually engaged either in acts of devotion, or business; indeed, they seldom meet, excepting at worship, which they have twice a day, and twice during the night. Their churches, for they have two, were clean and neat, but perfectly unadorned, excepting by some German texts of very elegant penmanship by the females. They have no set form of service, but pray and preach extempore; and in this the females join them. Their church is supplied with a small but neat steeple and clock; this clock strikes the hours from one to twelve progressively, from the rising of the sun, and begins again at sun-set.

They have a paper-mill, formerly

mentioned, a printing-house, and a library: they derive a considerable profit from the mill; but they print little, and have but a trifling library. I expressed some surprise at this, and was informed by Peter, that, before the war, they had a very excellent one, and were possessed of many valuable books in sheets for binding; but that the rebels being at this period at a loss for paper to make cartridges, general Washington sent an officer to seize all the paper and books he could find at Ephrata: his orders were implicitly obeyed*. In vain did poor Peter represent the inhumanity of this action; in vain did he offer to redeem them with a sum of money: in vain did he remonstrate: insult was added to inhumanity; and books were taken, which, from their smallness, were unfit for the use assigned. A similar ar-

NOTE.

* The writer of this account of the dunkards has shamefully misrepresented facts, and deviated from the truth in many particulars. The reverend Peter Miller, the worthy president of the dunkards, whose character is so indecently and unjustly aspersed by this illiberal writer, gives, in a letter to William Barton, esq. of this city, dated in April last, the following account of the transactions referred to, in opposition to the royalist's assertions.—“It is false,” says he, “that we ever had any library—the books, taken from us, were of one impression, unbound.” It is also false, that we offered money to release those books: much less is it true, that we had a woolen manufacture, except for our own exigency; and never was any woolen cloth demanded of us, except our blankets, when the militia went out first, for which we were paid. The truth is, that an embargo was laid on all our printed paper—also, that, for a time, we could not sell any book. At length, came one captain Henderson, with two waggons, to fetch away all our printed paper: he pretended to have an order from general Washington. As, at that time, the English army was in our vicinity—we remonstrated, and told the captain, that, as this would hurt our character, we would not consent, unless he would take them by

bitrary order was issued, to seize their woolen cloth, of which they generally have a large store; but fortunately a French frigate arrived in the Delaware, before this second order could be put in execution.

In the course of our walk, we met with one or two of the brethren, one in particular an Englishman, indeed the only one in the society; he was employed in making shingles, a business that requires both strength and dexterity; his head uncovered, and his venerable countenance exposed to the piercing rays of a mid-day sun. He was eighty-five years of age, yet was hale and stout; he was affable and cheerful; he asked several questions about England and about the

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force, for which we should have a certificate; to which he consented. Accordingly, he ordered six men, with fixed bayonets, from the hospital, which was at that time at Ephrata: and they loaded two waggons full. The captain afterwards settled with us, paying us honestly, and we parted in peace; though we never asked from him a certificate, but trusted to providence. Whether the said captain acted herein, by an express or implied order of his excellency, I cannot say: I never saw any written one.” “You are right,” continues Mr. Miller, “when you say, the account was written by a British officer. They (the British officers) came here but once, when peace was concluded; but, being strong royalists, they found little satisfaction with us. I may have told them, that the paper was taken upon the general's order; for, all military orders were issued under that name, and we always obeyed such verbal orders, without seeing any written one. The gentleman is very liberal, in granting me new titles: I thank him for it; and wish that such greedy vultures, as he and his companions were, may never more come to America.”

Mr. Miller's statement of these facts may be relied on. The character of this venerable man needs no defence, against the slander, cast upon it by the man, who had been kindly and hospitably received under his roof.

war; and shewed no signs of age, except in being rather deaf.

We then proceeded to the house occupied by the nuns, to whom we were introduced by Peter, as British officers. The prioress, who was, I think, near eighty, received us with the utmost politeness, thanked us for the honour we did her in calling upon her, and conducted us through the house: it was uniformly clean, and the cells were in excellent order; they did not, however, stick up to the strict rules of their order, but indulged themselves upon good feather beds, of which they had a great number. They shewed us some volumes of most elegant penmanship and needlework. They were employed in instructing some girls in sewing, others in reading and writing; they were the children of the neighbouring dunkards, who are by them initiated into the mystery of their religion: the boys are, in like manner, educated by the men.

Peter expressed great fears, that their society would become extinct; two members only, one a female, the other a male, had joined them in the course of forty years. He said he had some hopes, that they might be joined by some of the British officers at the peace: we could not give him much encouragement in the opinion. He assured us that he was perfectly happy: at first, indeed, their frequent and fatiguing religious duties, their abstinence, and, in particular, their vows of chastity, were hard to be observed; but these ideas had long since subsided. He employed his time, he said, when unoccupied by business, in reading and expounding the scriptures; he discovered many things, which some time or another he meant to publish; he was still discovering, with regard to his present religious opinions, which were the sentiments of the whole. They retain both sacraments, but admit only adults to baptism: they deny original sin, as to its effects upon Adam's posterity: they deny, likewise, the eternity of torments; and suppose, that we only suffer a certain time, in proportion to the nature and number of the sins we have committed in this life; these being purged away by a thorough repentance, the souls are raised into heaven. All violence they esteem unlawful; even going to

law, they look upon as contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Peter paid taxes: it was his principle to submit to the ruling power; but he confessed, that had he been to choose, he would have given the preference to a British government. He had been a clergyman of the Lutheran church; he was an excellent scholar, and well qualified to teach Greek; he understood the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, spoke French tolerably, and had a very competent knowledge of the English; he seemed in all respects a sensible, well-informed, intelligent man. At parting, he presented me with a pamphlet, written originally in German by the spiritual father, and translated by Peter: it is, a Dissertation upon Man's Fall, and is, in truth, a curious piece. We rode about six miles further to a village called Reams Town, where we dined. The country was level and well cultivated; as we returned, we called upon Peter, who, to our great surprise, presented us with a glass of excellent Madeira: he told us, that, by the strict rules of their order, they were allowed only vegetables and water; but that, as old age advanced, he really found it impossible to submit to such rigid discipline: we admired his candour, and joined him in drinking a cheerful glass.

Upon our return to Lancaster, we could not help giving Peter and his brethren very great credit for their peaceable dispositions, and praising them for their prudence in avoiding law-suits: we had formed plans of transplanting some of them to this part of the world, if possible, to quell that spirit of litigation and love of law, so prevalent among us; but we were, I confess, not a little surprised, to find, that Peter himself was one of the most troublesome, litigious fellows in the whole county, and that he never failed to make his appearance at the quarterly sessions in Lancaster, with some frivolous, silly complaint: we were heartily ashamed of our too easy credulity, and determined to ask no more questions, lest they might tend to further discoveries.

Indian magnanimity,

AN Indian, who had not met with his usual success in hunt-

ing, wandered down to a plantation among the back settlements in Virginia, and seeing a planter at his door, asked for a morsel of bread, for he was very hungry. The planter bid him begone, for he would give him none. 'Will you give me then a cup of your beer?' said the Indian. 'No, you shall have none here,' replied the planter. But I am very faint,' said the savage, 'will you give me only a draught of cold water?' 'Get you gone, you Indian dog, you shall have nothing here,' said the planter. It happened, some months after, that the planter went on a shooting party up into the woods, where, intent upon his game, he mislaid his company, and lost his way; and night coming on, he wandered through the forest, till he espied an Indian wigwam. He approached the savage's habitation, and asked him to shew him the way to a plantation on that side the country. 'It is too late for you to go there this evening, sir,' said the Indian; but if you will accept of my homely fare, you are welcome.' He then offered him some venison, and such other refreshment as his store afforded; and having laid some bear skins for his bed, he desired that he would repose himself for the night, and he would awake him early in the morning, and conduct him on his way. Accordingly in the morning they set off, and the Indian led him out of the forest, and put him in the road he was to go; but just as they were taking leave, he stepped before the planter, then turning round, and staring full in his face, bid him say, whether he recollected his features. The planter was now struck with shame and horror, when he beheld, in his kind protector, the Indian whom he had so harshly treated. He confessed that he knew him, and was full of excuses for his brutal behaviour; to which the Indian only replied: 'When you see poor Indians fainting for a cup of cold water, don't say again, 'Get you gone, you Indian dog!' The Indian then wished him well on his journey, and left him. It is not difficult to say, which of these two had the best claim to the name of christian.

[From the Gazette of the united States.]

The importance of the protestant religion politically considered.

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.

THE religion, which the citizens of America in general profess, is that, for the sake of which, our virtuous fore-fathers resigned all the honours, the pleasures, the comforts, and almost all the necessities of life, which many of them enjoyed in abundance in the old world; and traversed the vast and perilous atlantic, to transplant themselves and families to this, then rude, uncultivated wilderness, swarming with savage beasts, and far more savage men. It is, therefore, that religion, which laid the foundation of this new and great empire: it is the religion, of all others, the most favourable to industry, commerce, the arts, science, freedom, and consequently the temporal happiness of mankind: it is the professed religion of the greatest, wisest, and best men this world has produced; and it is the religion, of which we acknowledge God to be the author. These will surely be admitted as powerful claims to our particular reverence and respect. To this religion, Britain is principally indebted, for that happy reformation and subsequent glorious revolution, which were the harbingers of her present distinguished greatness. To this religion and its worthy professors, it must be acknowledged, much is due, in bringing about the late glorious American revolution. Inspired by this religion, our truly patriotic clergy boldly and zealously stepped forth, and bravely stood our distinguished sentinels, to watch, and warn us against approaching danger: they wisely saw, that our religious and civil liberties were inseparably connected; and therefore warmly excited and animated the people, resolutely to oppose and repel every hostile invader. These are some of the temporal blessings, flowing from our religion; and yet many of those pious christians, to whom, under God, we owe much of that fortitude, zeal, perseverance, and inspiration, which carried the American army through difficulties and dangers, apparently insurmountable—may at this day be ranked among

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the most needy and dependent men in the community : this is an evil greatly to be deplored ; and urgently demands every possible public and private exertion, for the sake of those, who have thus generously embraced a life of certain indigence, for the cause of religion and mankind—for the sake of their widows and offspring, who are often left in the most distressed circumstances, and for the honour and security of that religion, to which we are largely indebted for this happy country. The generality of mankind are more or less influenced and attracted by the power and splendour of riches ; and there are too many of all ranks, in every community, who annex an idea of contempt to the appearance of poverty. This is too evident, to be controverted. If, therefore, poverty is often treated with contempt, and always with neglect, what may we not fear for that religion, of which, in this country, poverty is a distinguishing badge ? The mass of mankind are ever captivated by external appearances and shew—barren minds receive no light from within ; and therefore cannot be so easily informed and convinced, of the intrinsic worth of true religion, as they may be caught and insinuated by the tinsel and trappings of any other ; it is therefore worthy of consideration, what may be the probable effects of the introduction of other religions ; and how far their effects, if in any view dangerous, may be counteracted, consistently with the just and generous principles of toleration.

The ignorant and illiterate, constitute a large majority in all communities—these are awed, their excesses controlled, and their opinions biased, more from the exertions of religion, and the visible respect paid to it by those, whom they deem their superiors, than from its immediate, sensible influence on their own minds. It is therefore well worthy the attention of those, who assent to the importance of the protestant religion, politically considered, and who conceive, that it has had any share in producing the temporal blessings we now enjoy, to honour it with every possible distinguishing mark of pre-eminence and respect, not repugnant to the true spirit of toleration ; and liberally to aid our religious fathers, in the glorious

work of supporting this important bulwark of our constitution ; and in the commemoration of those great events, conducive to the revolution and independence of America. May the virtue, zeal, and patriotism of our clergy, be ever particularly remembered ; for it is a truth, as sacred as the idea is serious and alarming, that as our protestant clergy shall sink into contempt or neglect, however undeserved, the learned will decline the profession ; and then—adieu to religion, morality, and liberty ! While in conformity to the benevolent precepts of true religion, as well as the liberal principles of our constitution, Americans hold out religious liberty to all the various sects, who may be disposed to become our fellow citizens, let us not be wanting in that attention and respect, due to the religion we profess ; lest it should be suspected, that our tolerant spirit proceeded more from a total indifference to all religion, than from that liberality of sentiment and god-like charity, which true religion inculcates and inspires, and which (it is hoped) will never be dislodged from the generous and benevolent breasts of Americans.

May 9, 1789.

E. C.

[To the editor of the Gazette of the united states.]

SIR,

EVERY friend to the rights of conscience, equal liberty, and diffusive happiness, must have felt pain, on seeing the attempt made by one of your correspondents, in the gazette of the united states, No. 8, May the 9th, to revive, an odious system of religious intolerance. The author may not have been fully sensible of the tendency of his publication, because he speaks of preserving universal toleration. Perhaps he is one of those, who think it consistent with justice, to exclude certain citizens from the honours and emoluments of society, merely on account of their religious opinions, provided they be not restrained, by racks and forfeitures, from the exercise of that worship which their consciences approve. If such be his views, in vain then have Americans associated into one great national union, under the

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express condition of not being shackled by religious tests; and under a firm persuasion, that they were to retain, when associated, every natural right, not expressly surrendered.

Is it pretended, that they, who are the objects of an intended exclusion from certain offices of honour and advantage, have forfeited, by any act of treason against the united states, the common rights of nature, or the stipulated rights of the political society, of which they form a part? This the author has not presumed to assert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred, with perhaps greater unanimity, than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government, from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil and religious liberty. What character shall we then give to a system of policy, calculated for the express purpose of divesting of rights, legally acquired, those citizens, who are not only unoffending, but whose conduct has been highly meritorious?

These observations refer to the general tendency of the publication, which I now proceed to consider more particularly. Is it true (as the author states) that our forefathers abandoned their native home; renounced its honours and comforts, and buried themselves in the immense forests of this new world, for the sake of that religion, which he recommends as preferable to any other? Was not the religion, which the emigrants to the four southern states brought with them to America, the pre-eminent and favoured religion of the country which they left? Did the Roman catholics, who first came to Maryland, leave their native soil, for the sake of preserving the protestant church? Was this the motive of the peaceable quakers, in the settlement of Pennsylvania? Did the first inhabitants of the Jerseys and New York, quit Europe for fear of being compelled to renounce their protestant tenets? Can it be even truly affirmed, that this motive operated on all, or a majority of those, who began to settle and improve the four eastern states?

Or, even, if they really were influenced by a desire of preserving their religion, what will ensue from the fact, but that one denomination of protestants sought a retreat from the persecution of another? Will history justify the assertion, that they left their native homes for the sake of the protestant religion, understanding it in a comprehensive sense as distinguished from every other?

This leading fact being so much mis-stated, no wonder that the author should go on, bewildering himself more and more. He asserts that the religion, which he recommends, laid the foundation of this great and new empire; and therefore contends, that it is entitled to pre-eminence and distinguished favour. Might I not say, with equal truth, that the religion, which he recommends, exerted her powers to crush this empire in its birth, and is still labouring to prevent its growth? For, can we so soon forget, or now help seeing, that the bitterest enemies of our national prosperity profess the same religion, which prevails generally in the united states? What inference will a philosophic mind draw from this view, but that religion is out of the question—that it is ridiculous to say, the protestant religion is the important bulwark of our constitution—that the establishment of the American empire was not the work of this or that religion, but arose from a generous exertion of all her citizens, to redress their wrongs, to assert their rights, and lay its foundations on the soundest principles of justice and equal liberty?

When he ascribed so many valuable effects to his cherished religion, as that she was the nurse of arts and sciences, could he not reflect, that Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, Thucydides and Livy, Phidias and Apelles, flourished long before this nurse of arts and sciences had an existence? Was he so inconsiderate, as not to attend to the consequences, favourable to Polytheism, which flow from his reasoning—or did he forget, that the emperor Julian, that subtle and inveterate enemy of christianity, applied this very same argument to the defence of Heathenish superstition? The recollection of that circumstance may induce him to suspect the weight

of his observation, and perhaps to doubt of the fact, which he assumed for its basis.

But he tells us that Britain "owes to her religion her present distinguished greatness"—a gentle invitation to America to pursue the same political maxims, in heaping exclusive favours on one and depressing all other religions!

But does Britain indeed owe the perfection and extent of her manufactures, and the enormous wealth of many individuals, to the cause assigned by this writer? Can he so soon put it out of his mind, that the patient industry, so natural to English artificers, and the long monopoly of our trade, and that of their dependencies, by increasing the demand, and a competition among her artizans, contributed principally to the perfection of the manufactures of Britain; and that the plunder of Indian provinces poured into her lap the immense fortunes, which murder and rapacity accumulated in those fertile climes? God forbid, that religion should be instrumental in raising such greatness!

When the author proceeds to say, that the clergy of that religion, which operated such wonders in Britain, "boldly and zealously stepped forth, and bravely stood our distinguished centinels, to bring about the late glorious revolution"—I am almost determined to follow him no further: he is leading me on too tender ground, on which I choose not to venture. The clergy of that religion behaved, I believe, as any other clergy would have done in similar circumstances: but the voice of America will not contradict me, when I assert, that they discovered no greater zeal for the revolution, than the ministry of any other denomination whatever.

When men comprehend not, or refuse to admit, the luminous principles, on which the rights of conscience and liberty of religion depend, they are indolent to find out pretences for intolerance. If they cannot discover them in the actions, they strain to cull them out of the tenets of the religion, which they wish to exclude from a free participation of equal rights. Thus this writer attributes to his religion the merit of being the most favourable to freedom; and affirms that not

only morality, but liberty likewise must expire, if his clergy should ever be contemned or neglected: all which conveys a refined insinuation, that liberty cannot consist with, or be cherished by any other religious institution; which therefore, he would give to understand, it is not safe to countenance in a free government.

I am anxious to guard against the impression, intended by such insinuations; not merely for the sake of any one profession, but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate for ever, in our new empire, the great principle of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the states continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience; and men, who have bled, and opened their purses as freely, in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages, which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further. Let the author, who has opened this field for discussion, beware of slily imputing, to any set of men, principles or consequences, which they disavow. He perhaps may meet with retaliation. He may be told, and referred to lord Littleton, as zealous a protestant as any man of his days, for information, that the principles of non-resistance seemed the principles of that religion, which (we are now told) is most favourable to freedom; and that its opponents had gone too far in the other extreme*.

He may be told farther, that a reverend prelate of Ireland, the bishop of Cloyne, has lately attempted to prove that the protestant episcopal church is best fitted to unite with the civil constitution of a mixed monarchy, while presbyterianism is only congenial with republicanism. Must America, then, yielding to these fanciful systems, confine her distinguishing favours to the followers of Calvin, and keep a jealous eye on all others? Ought she not rather to treat with contempt these

NOTE.

* See dialogues of the dead, 1st dialogue.

idle, and (generally speaking) interested speculations, refuted by reason, history, and daily experience; and rest the preservation of her liberties, and her government, on the attachment of mankind to their political happiness, to the security of their persons and their property, which is independent of religious doctrines, and not restrained by any?

June 10, 1789. PACIFICUS.



The benefits of exercise, in preference to medicine, in chronic diseases, illustrated by an allegory—extracted from a publication on temperance and exercise, printed by John Dunlap in the year 1772, and ascribed to Dr. Rush.

IN the island of Ceylon, in the Indian ocean, a number of invalids were assembled together, who were afflicted with most of the chronic diseases, to which the human body is subject. In the midst of them sat several venerable figures, who amused them with encomiums upon some medicines, which they assured them would afford infallible relief in all cases. One boasted of an elixir—another of a powder, brought from America—a third, of a medicine, invented and prepared in Germany—all of which, they said, were certain antidotes to the gout—a fourth, cried up a nostrum for the vapours—a fifth, drops for the gravel—a sixth, a balsam, prepared from honey, as a sovereign remedy for a consumption—a seventh, a pill for cutaneous eruptions—while an eighth cried down the whole, and extolled a mineral water, which lay a few miles from the place where they were assembled. The credulous multitude partook eagerly of these medicines, but without any relief of their respective complaints. Several of those who made use of the antidotes to the gout, were hurried suddenly out of the world. Some said, their medicines were adulterated—others, that the doctors had mistaken their disorders—while most of them agreed, that they were much worse than ever. While they were all, with one accord, giving vent, in this manner, to the transports of disappointment and vexation, a clap of thunder was heard over their heads.

Upon looking up, a light was seen in the sky. In the midst of this appeared the figure of something more than human—she was tall and comely—her skin was fair as the driven snow—a rosy hue tinged her cheeks—her hair hung loose upon her shoulders—her flowing robes disclosed a shape, which would have cast a shade upon the statue of Venus of Medici. In her right hand she held a bough of an evergreen—in her left hand she had a scroll of parchment. She descended slowly, and stood erect upon the earth—she fixed her eyes, which sparkled with life, upon the deluded and afflicted company—there was a mixture of pity and indignation in her countenance—she stretched forth her right arm, and with a voice, which was sweeter than melody itself, she addressed them in the following language: “Ye children of men, listen for a while to the voice of instruction. You seek health where it is not to be found. The boasted specifics you have been using, have no virtues. Even the persons who gave them, labour under many of the disorders they attempt to cure. My name is Hygiea. I preside over the health of mankind. Discard all your medicines, and seek relief from temperance and exercise alone. Every thing, you see, is active around you. All the brute animals in nature are active in their instinctive pursuits. Inanimate nature is active too—air—fire—and water are always in motion. Unless this were the case, they would soon be unfit for the purposes, for which they were designed, in the economy of nature. Shun sloth—this unhinges all the springs of life. Fly from your diseases—they will not—they cannot pursue you.” Here she ended—she dropped the parchment upon the earth—a cloud received her, and she immediately ascended, and disappeared from their sight—a silence ensued, more expressive of approbation, than the loudest peals of applause. One of them approached, with reverence, to the spot where she had stood—took up the scroll, and read the contents of it to his companions. It contained directions to each of them, what they should do to restore their health. They all prepared themselves to obey the advice of

the heavenly vision. The gouty man broke his vial of elixir, threw his powders into the fire, and walked four or five miles every day before break-fall. The man, afflicted with the gravel, threw aside his drops, and began to work in his garden, or to play two or three hours every day at bowls. The hypochondriac and hysteric patients discharged their boxes of assa-fœtida, and took a journey on horse-back, to distant and opposite ends of the island. The melancholic threw aside his gloomy systems of philosophy, and sent for a dancing master. The studious man shut up his folios, and sought amusement from the sports of children. The leper threw away his mercurial pills, and swam every day in a neighbouring river. The consumptive man threw his balsam out of his window, and took a voyage to a distant country. After some months, they all returned to the place they were wont to assemble in. Joy appeared in each of their countenances. One had renewed his youth—another had recovered the use of his limbs—a third, who had been half bent for many years, now walked upright—a fourth began to sing some jovial song, without being asked—a fifth could talk for hours together, without being interrupted with a cough—in a word, they all now enjoyed a complete recovery of their health. They joined in offering sacrifices to Hygea. Temples were erected to her memory; and she continues, to this day, to be worshipped by all the inhabitants of that island.



Letter of William Penn, to his friends in London, giving a description of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, the 16th of the 6th month, called August, 1683.

My kind friends.

THE kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Anne, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an

account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find, some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed, absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent, as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit, and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive, many frivolous and idle stories have been invented, since my departure from England, which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive, than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came—an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itself, in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel both loamy and dusty; and in some places, a fast, fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God, in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back lands, being generally, three to one, richer than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black

hazel-mould, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North-hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, of the fall, for then I came in:—I found it, from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp, frosty weather, not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gulls, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, which endeth the summer (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome north-western, seven days together: and whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in

two hours time are blown away: the one is followed by the other—a remedy, that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country—of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gumwood, hickory, salisfras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white and black, Spanish chestnut and swamp, the most durable of all: of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, huckleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance, "the fox-grape," (because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates,) is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the frontinac; as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muskadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster-grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches, very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them: but whether naturally here at first, I know not: however, one may have them by bushels, for little. They make a pleasant drink, and, I think, not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to finding the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be

equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine, as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat*, barley, oats, rye, pease, beans, squalhes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts, of the woods, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, racoon, rabbits, squirrels: and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal; also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cathead, sheephhead, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles, as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat: and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are

built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-slaves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plough mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient: and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the others, I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London, best stored with that sort of beauty; but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial.

Thus much of the country; next of the natives, or Aborigines.

(To be continued.)

Medical society established in the state of Delaware.

THE physicians of the Delaware state had long regretted their unconnected situation. Despairing to obtain some of the most important objects of their profession, while thus detached from one another—and convinced, that experience has uniformly attested the advantages of literary association, they lately presented a memorial to the honorable legislature, on that subject. After duly considering the application, the general assembly, for the liberal purpose of fostering the interest of science, granted a charter of incorporation to a number of the said physicians, and their successors, for ever, under the name and stile of “the president and fellows of the medical society of the Delaware state.”

The object of this society is, to animate and unite its respective members, in the arduous work of cultivat-

NOTE.

* Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkil, had, with ordinary cultivation, from one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty—and three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

ing the science of medicine, and all its auxiliary branches; with an especial view to its practical use, the alleviating of human misery, the diminution of mortality, and the cure of diseases. To accomplish this interesting purpose, they will direct their endeavours—to invelligate the endemical diseases of our own country—to trace their effects on its aboriginal inhabitants, and the successive variations they have undergone, in the progress of society from rudeness to refinement—to remark the general operations of political, moral, and natural causes, on the human body, and its diseases—and, particularly, observe and record the effects of different seasons, climates, and situations, and the changes produced in diseases, by the progress of science, commerce, agriculture, arts, population and manners—to explore our animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, and every accessible department of nature, in search of the means of enriching and simplifying our *Materia Medica*—to extend the substitution of our indigenious, for exotic remedies—to rescue from oblivion, and collect, for public view, the fugitive observations of intelligent physicians—to confer honorary rewards on the efforts of genius and industry—to superintend the education of medical students, and connect, with the elements of medicine, an adequate knowledge of all the kindred and subservient sciences—to enlarge our sources of knowledge, by importing and disseminating the discoveries and publications of foreign countries—to correspond with learned societies and individuals—to appoint stated times for literary intercourse and communications—to cultivate harmony and liberality among the practitioners of medicine—and, finally, to promote regularity and uniformity, in the practice of physic.

A quorum of the fellows of the society, in pursuance of the charter of incorporation, assembled at Dover, on Tuesday, the 12th of May 1789, adopted the following constitution:

1. The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice president, four censors, a secretary, and a treasurer, who shall be annually chosen by ballot, on the second Tuesday of May.

2. The president, or, in his absence, the vice-president, shall preside in all

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the meetings, and subscribe all the publications of the society. The president, or in case of his death, or incapacity, the vice-president, with the concurrence of two censors and four fellows, shall also have the power of calling a special meeting of the society, whenever they may judge it necessary.

3. The business of the censors shall be, to inspect the records, and examine the accounts and expenditures of the society, and to report thereon. And all communications, made to the society, after being read at one of their stated meetings, shall be referred to the censors, and such other fellows of the society, as shall be appointed for that purpose, to examine and report thereon to the society.

4. The secretary shall keep fair records of the proceedings of the society; and, under their direction, shall correspond with such persons and societies, as may be judged necessary, to promote the views and objects of the institution. He shall likewise receive and preserve all books and papers, belonging to the society, and letters addressed to them.

5. The treasurer shall receive all donations, and also the contributions, arising from such laws and regulations, as the society may, from time to time, make. He shall likewise keep all the monies and securities, belonging to the society; and shall pay all orders, signed by the president, or vice-president, which orders shall be his vouchers for his expenditures.

6. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes. In those cases, where the society is equally divided, the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

7. Every fellow shall subscribe the constitution, and annually pay a dollar, to defray the contingent expenses of the society.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected officers of the society.

James Tilton, M. D.	<i>president.</i>
Jonas Preston, M. B.	<i>vice-president.</i>
Nicholas Wav, M. D.	} <i>censors.</i>
Mathew Wilton, D. D.	
Dr. Joshua Clayton.	
Dr. Nathaniel Luff.	
Edward Miller, M. B.	<i>secretary.</i>
Dr. James Sykes,	<i>treasurer.</i>

Published by order of the society,
Edward Miller, *secretary.*

Medical history of the Cortex Ruber, or Red Bark; communicated to John Morgan, M. D. professor of the theory and practice of physic at Philadelphia, and F. R. S. London, &c.

St. Lucia, August 29, 1783,

To dr. John Morgan, at Philadelphia.
Sir,

I HAVE lately received the following communications upon the cortex ruber, which I have found so efficacious, in the cure of obstinate remittent and bilious fevers, that I think it my duty to lay them before this society, in hopes of so valuable a medicine being thereby better known, and introduced more generally into practice.

Extract of a letter from Thomas S. Duché, dated London, August 9, 1783.

"I was lately at a lecture, delivered at Guy's hospital, by dr. Saunders, upon the cure of intermittent fevers; and observing, the doctor spoke very much in favour of a new species of bark, which he had introduced into the practice of physic, I procured a specimen of it for you, thinking it might be agreeable to you, to hear of any new improvements in the healing art. It is called red bark. According to his account, it possesses so much virtue, and is of such certain efficacy, that, compared with it, the common bark is an inert mass. It contains a much larger portion of resin, has a much stronger aromatic taste than the common bark, and does not require half the quantity for a dose. Amongst other particulars, he mentioned the following proof of its superior virtue, namely, that, of this medicine, when administered in a simple cold infusion, any given quantity is much stronger and more effectual to remove the fever, than a chemical extract from the same quantity of the other. I now send you a specimen, by which you will be able to make a trial, and form some judgment of its virtues."

T. S. DUCHÉ.

Soon after the receipt of the foregoing letter, I received the following valuable communications from dr. George Davidson of St. Lucia, which it affords me great pleasure to lay before this society.

If the subject, upon which I have the honour to write to you, should be found to merit attention, and prove in any respect useful and advantageous to mankind, I shall easily stand excused in addressing you, personally unacquainted as I am.

I have, by this opportunity, sent a small specimen of the Cinchona of this island, resembling the Peruvian bark in its botanical character, and, from the trial made here, surpassing it in medical virtues. It is now nearly four years, since the Caribæan bark was discovered upon the heights adjoining Morne Fortuné, and introduced into practice by dr. Young, physician to his Britannic majesty's troops. The freshness of the bark, the little attention bestowed in drying it, and the large doses, in which it was exhibited, produced alarming fits of vomiting and purging, and deterred us, at that time, from the further prosecution of the subject, until the other day, that a treatise upon the red bark, by dr. Saunders of London, and a belief, which we entertained, that this was the same bark which he describes, induced us again to make a trial of it. Having properly dried it, and given it in the cold infusion, with greater caution, and in less doses, than at the first essay, we are now happy in assuring the public, that, in most instances, it has not disappointed us. Still, however, notwithstanding the utmost care in drying it, in some cases it still seems to retain its emetic and purgative qualities; as the stomach and first passages, in complaints here, are loaded with a quantity of putrid bile. These are not its least valuable properties. It will, however, be necessary, when these effects are produced, to check them afterwards by opiates.

With regard to its preparations; I have generally given it in the cold infusion, made either with lime or cinnamon water. An extract, made with spirits and water, sits easily on the stomach, and can be given in larger quantities.

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where I have been called to the patient, during the second fit—without watching for its going off, I have begun with this bark, which effectually cleansed the stomach and bowels, and paved the way for its future administration.

In putrid dysenteries, and in a remarkable species of dysentery, conjoined with an intermittent fever, which I have met with here, the bark has done more, than all the remedies, that I have seen employed. The purgative effects, which it produced, enabled us to throw it in earlier ; the hardened scybula, the support of the disease, were removed, the stomach and bowels braced up, and, by the interposition of opiates, the spasms were removed.

Having sent several specimens of the bark, for a trial, to different parts of the continent of America, and particularly to my worthy friend, dr. Hall, of Peterburgh, Virginia, I impatiently wait the result of your trials, and will esteem myself particularly obliged by your communication. If you choose, I shall send you some of the young trees planted in tubs, with some of the seeds.

Should it be found to answer my expectation, the pleasure, resulting from the thoughts of having communicated something useful, will be to me ample enough recompense. I have the honour to be,

With the utmost respect,

Your most obedient humble servt.

GEORGE DAVIDSON.

P. S. Dr. Wright of Jamaica (in fifth vol. of medical commentaries,) describes a species of cinchona, with only one flower on a footstalk ; the same was likewise found at the Havanna. It differs, in that particular, from the old bark, which resembles the St. Lucia bark, in having several flowers on each footstalk.

The following is a description of the *cinchona caribaea sanctae luciae*.

The tree is commonly found in ravines, near springs, under the shade of a larger tree. It delights in places well shaded, and defended from the north-east trade-wind : the soil is commonly a stiff red earth, with a clayey sub-stratum ; quantities of small beautiful chryllals, of a regular angular form, are found intermixed.

The tree is about the size of the cherry tree ; seldom exceeding the thickness of the thigh, and twenty-five feet in height.

The flowers begin to appear, at the commencement of the rainy season, in beautiful tufts, upon pannicles branched out in threes and fours. I have never seen that species, described by Jacquin, and found at the Havanna, *pedunculis unifloris*.

Before the corolla is fully expanded, and the stamina make their appearance without the tube of the corolla, the flower is white ; but it afterwards turns to a beautiful purple. Then dropping off, the germen enlarges to the size of a hazle-nut, oblong and round. It gradually dries, bursts in two, and scatters the seeds, which fall to the ground and again take root.

The wood of the tree is light, spongy, and fit for no useful purpose. It has not the bitter taste of the bark. The leaves are very bitter, and the flowers, seeds, &c. seem to possess the bitterness and astringency in a more eminent degree.

An ounce of the bark, in fine powder, infused in a quart of cold water for twenty-four hours, and the infusion afterwards filtered, appears higher coloured, than a decoction made with double the quantity of the old bark. The colour, which it strikes with the *tinct. flor. martial.* and *sal martis*, is likewise of a deeper black. The spirituous tincture is of a deep red colour, and strikes a deep black, by the addition of the preparations of iron.

The taste of the Cinchona Caribaea is manifestly more astringent, than the taste of the old bark ; an inference may therefore, *a priori*, be made, that its tonic powers are greater.

The quantity of resin, which it yields, is much more considerable ; and an extract, made both with spirits and water, seems to possess the whole virtues of the bark.



Hints on the measles.

THE measles are an eruptive fever, attended with a general inflammation. In some constitutions, the measles give symptoms of their

approach, many days before they discover themselves, by a frequent and dry cough, such as commonly attends a slight cold, without any other complaint; though, for the most part, by sweatings, attended with alternate heat, which is accompanied with sneezing, swelling of the eyelids, and a constant sleepiness; a thin humour often distils from the eyes and nose; these last symptoms are the characteristics, which distinguish this disease from most other eruptive fevers. The tongue is white and foul, but not very dry; the heat and fever increase every hour, with a severe cough, vehement sickness, thirst, loss of appetite, sometimes attended with vomiting, and often with a sneezing, with greenish stools; but this last symptom happens mostly to infants, and that, during the time of dentition. The symptoms generally grow more violent, until the fourth day, when there appear, upon the face, small eruptions, like flea-bites, which soon flow together in large spots; on the breast, they are broad and red, seldom rising above the surface of the skin; but may be easily felt, by pressing gently with the finger: they gradually extend from the face to the breast, and downwards to the thighs and legs; but are not so distinct pimples in the trunk and extremities, as in the face, but are equally as red. The symptoms do not abate, in this disease, when the eruption appears, as they do in the small-pox. The vomiting seldom continues after, but the cough and fever are generally more violent; the difficulty of breathing, the weakness and defluxion from the eyes, constant drowsiness, and loss of appetite, continue after the eruption. The eruptions generally disappear, about the fourth or sixth day from their first appearance; they begin to turn dry and scaly, upon the face first, and go gradually off, as they came on, about the eighth or ninth day; the whole body has sometimes the same kind of appearance, as if sprinkled over with bran. Those who die in the measles, generally perish on the ninth day, by a suffocation. The dangerous symptoms of this disease, are a great and sudden loss of strength, coldness of the extremities, restlessness, continual cough, a looseness, great difficulty in

breathing or swallowing, paleness of the eruptions, and sometimes purple spots, delirium, convulsions, and sometimes profuse sweats, especially in persons advanced in years. As the measles disappear and terminate, sooner than the small-pox, the vulgar generally think they are struck in before that time, though they have really run through their natural course; for which reason they often have recourse to warm cordials, which are highly improper, and often bring on direful symptoms. Such as die in the measles, generally die about the ninth day; and are certainly removed by a violent peripneumony, or inflammation of the lungs.

The patient ought to be treated much the same as in the small-pox, only not exposed to the cold air; but need not be confined to bed. Decoctions of barley-water, with liquorice and marshmallows, may be drank for ordinary drink; and infusions, made of linseed and elder flowers, sweetened with honey, or sugar-candy, may be used for a change; if the patient is costive, a little manna may be given, or tamarinds infused in boiling water. With respect to medicines, nature ought to be particularly attended to, as indeed it ought to be in every other disease. If the fever be very high, with an inflammation or redness in the eyes, with a laborious difficult breathing, with a great thirst, and fulness of the pulse, bleeding largely for adults, and the same, or by leeches, for infants, is absolutely necessary, with the warm bath, as deep as can be done conveniently. It is often attended with remarkably good effects, in all inflammatory fever, especially of the eruptive kind, to continue in the bath for some minutes, at least to bathe the feet and legs in warm water every night. If there be an inclination to vomit, it ought to be encouraged by drinking chamomile tea, or by giving a gentle vomit of a few grains of ipecacuanha, or a teaspoonful or two of antimonial wine to infants, or a larger dose in proportion to the age. The patient may hold his head over the steam of hot water, and receive it into his lungs, from the mouth of a tea pot, or an inhaler; every inspiration like this is an excellent remedy in any cough, provided it be not attended with a spit-

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ting of blood. The patient may likewise frequently take a little spermaceti and sugar-candy, pounded together, and dissolve it gradually in the mouth; or a table-spoonful of the following linctus for an adult, and a tea-spoonful for an infant, every time the cough is troublesome: take of good fresh sweet oil and syrup of marshmallows, of each equal parts, mixed together with a little of the juice of a boiled lemon, to acidulate it a little, provided it is more agreeable. All these things may be done at any time of the disease, if the symptoms appear inflammatory. If the measles suddenly disappear, with a weak, slow pulse, paleness of the face, and universal languor, the patient ought to be supported by cordials, such as wine, or strong wine-whey; blisters must be applied to the back, breast, or extremities, and warm cataplasms, with mustard and vinegar, to the soles of the feet; the same treatment is recommended in such circumstances, as in the small-pox. When they attack weak, relaxed habits, or hysterical, low-spirited women, Huxham's tincture of the bark is in this case of the most eminent service, as it answers both as a cordial and antiseptic, especially where purple spots, or other purid symptoms appear; and it is proper to drink wine and water, acidulated with the sweet spirit of vitriol, or, where that cannot be got, the juice of lemons or oranges; but, indeed, some preparation of the bark, either in substance or decoction, is absolutely necessary. In case of great restlessness, an adult may take from twenty to fifty drops of liquid laudanum, every night, at bed-time. From two to twelve drops of the same may be given to a child, from the birth to twelve or fourteen years old; begin with a small dose, and increase occasionally; but if the syrup of poppies is preferred, a tea-spoonful or two may be occasionally administered. The bowels ought to be kept open with clysters of gruel or milk, sugar, and a little oil. I have often given James's powders to adults, as prescribed in the printed directions, and, to infants the following: take of James's powder, six grains; sal prunella, one scruple; white sugar, one drachm; rub them well together; and give the

patient two, three, or four grains of this every five or six hours: the dose may be increased or diminished, according to its effects; if the fever runs high, these may be given after bleeding, in any state of the disease. Two or three doses of physic are necessary, when the disease is going off, as in the small-pox. If a violent purging comes on after the measles, a small dose of rhubarb may be given every second day in the morning, and the laudanum, as above, at bed-time; if the fever continues, with the purging, bleeding will often relieve, when nothing else avails. If, after the measles are gone off, the fever continues without the purging, bleeding is necessary, and the powders above-mentioned, with the linctus for the cough. Patients recovering from the measles ought to be cautious of exposing themselves too soon to the cold air, and eat what is light, and easy of digestion; buttermilk, or milk-whey, and barley-water, is a proper drink. If a cough and difficulty of breathing, with a hectic fever, and other consumptive symptoms, come on, small bleedings, frequently repeated (especially if the blood is fizy)—a vegetable diet, and milk, as above recommended, with change of air, and riding on horseback, abating from all animal food, perpetual blisters, or issues, will likewise be necessary.

I am, &c.

WM. TURNBULL.

Well-close Square, May, 13, 1786.



Account of the effects of electricity in paralytic cases. In a letter to dr. Pringle, from dr. Franklin.

SOME years since, when the newspapers made mention of great cures performed in Italy or Germany, by means of electricity, a number of paralytics were brought to me from Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring provinces, to be electrified; which I did for them at their request. My method was, first to place the patient in a chair, on an electric stool, and draw a number of large flint sparks, from all parts of the affected limb or side. Then I fully charged two six gallon glass jars, each of which had about three square feet of surface coated; and I sent the united shock of

these through the affected limb or limbs, repeating the stroke commonly three times each day. The first thing observed was an immediate greater sensible warmth in the lame limbs, that had received the stroke, than in the others; and the next morning, the patients usually related, that they had, in the night, felt a pricking sensation in the flesh of the paralytic limbs; and would sometimes shew a number of small red spots, which, they supposed, were occasioned by these prickings. The limbs, too, were found more capable of voluntary motion, and seemed to receive strength. A man, for instance, who could not, the first day, lift the lame hand from off his knee, would the next day, raise it four or five inches, the third day higher, and, on the fifth day was able, but with a feeble languid motion, to take off his hat.

These appearances gave great spirits to the patients, and made them hope a perfect cure; but I do not remember, that I ever saw any amendment after the fifth day: which the patients perceiving, and finding the shocks pretty severe, they became discouraged, went home, and in a short time relapsed; so that, in palsies, I never knew any advantage from electricity, that was permanent. And how far the apparent temporary advantage might arise from the exercise of the patient's journey, and coming daily to my house, or from the spirits, given by the hope of success, enabling them to exert more strength in moving their limbs, I will not pretend to say.

Perhaps some permanent advantage might have been obtained, if the electric shocks had been accompanied with proper medicine and regimen, under the directions of a skilful physician. It may be, too, that a few great strokes, as given in my method, may not be so proper, as many small ones: since, by the account, from Scotland, of a case, in which two hundred shocks from a phial were given daily, it seems, that a perfect cure has been made. As to any uncommon strength, supposed to be in the machine used in that case, I imagine it could have no share in the effect produced; since the strength of the shock, from charged glass is in proportion to the quantity of surface of the glass coated; so that my shocks, from those large

jars, must have been much greater, than any that could be received from a phial held in the hand.

I am, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

London, December 21, 1757.

THE REFORMER.

NUMBER I.

Virtue the happiness of a people.

MEN often complain of those evils, which are wholly of their own procuring, and which it is in their own power to remove, whenever they please. There is nothing more evident from reason, revelation, and common experience, than the tendency of virtue to the happiness, and the tendency of vice to the misery of mankind, both in private and social life; but while this is generally acknowledged in speculation, it is much disregarded in practice. All expedients to relieve the burdens and distresses of the day, without a general reform of manners, will be but palliatives—this will effect a radical cure.

Let rulers, influenced by the fear of God, and by love to mankind, use all their power and authority, to encourage righteousness, protect innocence, redress wrongs, and banish iniquity—let laws be made, with a single design to advance the general interest, and be executed with diligence and fidelity—let people, in all ranks, conscientiously discharge the duties of their respective stations—let justice and integrity take place in all private intercourse—let benevolence operate, in all exigencies, to excite mutual aid and succour, so that no man shall be miserable, while it is in his neighbour's power to relieve him—in all controversies, between man and man, or in society, let condescension immediately step in, to adjust the difference—let every man, in his private capacity, maintain sobriety, purity, temperance, industry and self-government, and attend more to the culture of his mind, the improvement of his virtue, and the regulation of the manners of his domestics, than to the indulgence of pleasure, or the accumulation of wealth—let this be the general spirit and conduct of mankind—and what

will be wanting to make them as happy, as the condition of mortals will permit, or as beings in a state of probation can reasonably desire?

But if, on the contrary, pride, selfishness, and the love of pleasure, reign among all ranks; if injustice, fraud, idleness, luxury, oppression, and other vices, generally prevail, there is no need of special judgments, to make them miserable, and no need of a spirit of prophecy, to foresee their destruction. Every man, therefore, as he regards his own and the general happiness, is bound to practise virtue himself, and to promote it among others. This obligation immediately results from his present condition as a man, and from his relation to society, abstracted from the consideration of those more grand and solemn motives, which religion proposes.

We have seen the time, when the people of this country, alarmed at the dangers, which threatened them from an usurping and invading power, could unite in arms for the common defence. They thought no expense too great to be incurred, no sacrifice too dear to be made, that they might rescue their trembling liberties, from the devouring jaws of oppression. Our social happiness is now in danger, from another quarter—from the prevalence of vice and impiety, from our increasing luxury, extravagance, selfishness and injustice: let us exert ourselves, with the same united ardour, to extirpate this internal enemy, as we have done to repel a foreign enemy, and we may hope for equal success; and success, in this attempt, will give our liberties a firmer establishment and a more permanent security, than all the successes of war.



Experiments on the cultivation of the poppy-plant, and the method of procuring opium. By Shadrach Ricketson, of Dutchess county, New York.

OPIUM is the produce of the *papaver somniferum* of Linnæus, which, as a genus, comprehends two species, viz. 1. The double, 2. the single; each of which includes several varieties, as to the colour of the flowers, some being white, some red, others purple and variegated.

From history we learn, that in the several provinces of Asia, it is the large white poppy only, that is cultivated for the purpose of collecting opium; but, from the trials that I have made, I am of opinion, that it is a matter of indifference, which species or variety of the plant is cultivated for medicinal use; as they will afford, when tapped, a juice that is similar, as to quantity, colour, and every other respect, both when fresh and when dried; however, I have thought, that the large double species produces the greatest number of heads, and consequently the greatest quantity of juice from one seed; but of this I have not yet had sufficient trials, to be certain.

Among the poppies, cultivated with a view to make the present experiments, I had some, that had each thirty heads, all of which sprang from one seed, and from one original stalk.

The poppy seeds, in this country, should be sown or planted, about the middle of May, in rich, moist ground.

The ground should be formed into areas, of about four feet broad. The seeds should be planted, at about ten or twelve inches distance, in transverse rows, which should also be about the same distance from each other.

Shallow holes, of an inch in depth, should be made in the rows, at the distance mentioned; the seeds put in, and covered over, even with the ground; after which, they are suffered to remain, till the plants are grown about four inches high, when they may be frequently watered and manured, especially, if the land is dry and not fertile: the best manure is said to be a compost of dung, ashes, and a nitrous earth.

In the East Indies, they are said to water them again profusely, just before the flowers appear; but, as I have had them grow very luxuriant and succulent in good ground, without either manuring or watering, I am disposed to think, that the advantages, arising from this last particular, are not adequate to the trouble of doing it.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the plants, from their first coming up, should be kept clean from weeds, which may be done, with very little trouble, with a small hoe, especially

if the seeds are planted after the manner I directed, that is, in rows.

Having said all that is necessary, on the cultivation of the plant, I shall now proceed to describe the method of obtaining its juice, which, when inspissated to a pilular consistence, is called opium.

The states of the plants, wherein I have found them to yield the most juice, are just before, in the time of, and immediately after flowering.

The plants being arrived to one or other of the states above mentioned, we then proceed to that part of the process, called tapping, which, we are told, is done in Asia, by making two or three longitudinal incisions in the half grown capsules, without penetrating their cavities. This operation is performed at sunset, and the plants are suffered to remain till morning, when the juice is to be scraped off, and worked in a proper vessel, in a moderate heat, till it becomes of a pilular consistence: which method, with several others, I have tried; but none have ever succeeded so well with me, as, in a sunny day, to cut off the stalks, at about an inch distance from their flowers or capsules, and as soon as the juice appears (which it does at first equally well on the part of the stalk, cut off, with the capsule or flower, as on the standing part) to collect it with a small scoop or penknife, the last of which I have found to answer the purpose very well. After the juice ceases to appear on the top of the standing stalk, it should be cut off about an inch lower, when it will be found to yield almost as freely as before; and this is repeated, as long as any juice appears.

The juice, when collected, should be put into an evaporating pan placed in the sun's heat, and frequently stirred, till it becomes of a consistence to be formed into pills, or made into rolls, for keeping or transportation.

The quantity of opium, that may be procured, depends very much upon the largeness of our plants, and the care used in collecting it. From one poppy plant, I have procured seven grains of the inspissated juice.

If any would choose to have the opium freed from its impurities, it may easily be done, by pressing the juice through a linen strainer, before

it is evaporated; but if pains be taken, according to the foregoing directions, I believe there will be little or no occasion for it.

Here the following question presents itself, viz.

Does the opium, I have been describing, possess the same properties, as the Asiatic opium?

To determine which, I made the following experiments:

Experiment 1. July 27, 1787.

At six o'clock, A. M. I took one grain of this opium; at seven, breakfasted on chocolate; at a quarter after seven, I was called upon to visit a patient; I immediately mounted my horse, and rode two miles; and as I rode, I felt unusually cheerful; a tinged fulness and redness of my head and face, as if I had been drinking; ardent spirits also seemed to attend me.

At nine o'clock, while at my patient's house, I felt a slight sickness at my stomach, accompanied with a moist sweat. At ten o'clock, the sickness and sweat continuing to increase, I set off for home, and on the way it just occurred to me, that the opium I had been taking, was the cause of my illness; and before I reached home, I vomited my breakfast, which gave me a little ease.

After I got home, I was seized with a vertigo, slight tremors, stupor, attended with a small, contracted pulse: I went to bed, ate no dinner, and about two o'clock P. M. I vomited a considerable quantity of sour, watery fluid, after which I felt somewhat easier, and, in about an hour afterwards, I had several violent retchings, and raised some bile. Being now fatigued by the vomiting, &c. I took a large dose of the anti-emetic mixture, which, after a short sleep, seemed to give me remarkable relief, and after which, all the symptoms gradually vanished. I perceived my urine to be high-coloured: I had no stool, from the day before I took it, till the morning of the 29th; and between eleven and twelve o'clock of this day, I had three or four liquid stools, accompanied with considerable griping.

I think it proper to remark, that, during the above symptoms, I had no uncommon sleepiness.

Experiment 2. Unsatisfied with the preceding experiment, and not

knowing, whether the symptoms that I laboured under, were solely the effect of the opium—August 6, at six o'clock, A. M. I took half a grain of the same kind of opium. The effects that I perceived from it, were, in the forenoon a cheerfulness, and in the afternoon a loathing, and at times, a small degree of sickness.

Experiment 3. August 20. at seven o'clock in the morning, I took one grain of the above-mentioned opium: at eight o'clock, I breakfasted on tea; after breakfast, I felt an unconcernedness, my face felt turgid; I had some slight sickness and inclination to vomit, and about ten o'clock I had several retchings, and puked, and half after ten I puked again: in short I underwent very much the same series of symptoms, as in experiment 1st. indeed sufficiently so, to confirm me, that the complaints, I laboured under, were solely the effects of the opium.

Experiment 4. at half after seven o'clock in the morning, I took a full grain of the Asiatic opium; and at half after eight, I breakfasted on milk. I felt no unusual effects from it, till about twelve o'clock, when a flushing and a turgid fulness of my face, came on. I dined at one o'clock, after which I was attacked with considerable pain in my bowels, loathing and sickness (but not so much as to puke) which continued to remain, till I went to bed. I had no stool that day, as usual; no uncommon sleepiness.

Quaeritur. Is the vomiting, that occurred after taking the opium, to be imputed and ascribed to the peculiar effect of it on the stomach; or is it to be considered as an effort of the *vis medicatrix naturae*?

From what has been said, I think we may induce the following inferences, &c.

1. That the poppy plant is the same here as in Asia, and that the difference depends only on the climate, soil, and mode of cultivation.

2. That every species and variety of the plant, is equally capable of producing opium.

3. That the collecting of it might not only become an useful, but also a lucrative business.

4. And lastly, that the opium col-

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lected here, is as strong, or stronger than the Asiatic opium; in confirmation of which, I shall beg leave to add the following passage of a letter I am favoured with, from my friend and former master, dr. Benjamin Anthony, to whom I gave some of the opium of my own procuring, for trial, and who had been accustomed to use opium, on account of the rheumatism. "Being in pain this morning, I took a grain of the opium; the operation appears to be the same, as that of the other opium, which I have commonly used; a grain is perhaps equal to two of the common."

Whether the virtues of opium reside in a fixed or volatile principle, is a matter that admits of a dispute: some late experiments seem to favour the latter opinion, which being admitted, one reason (I think) why the opium, collected here, is stronger than the Asiatic, is, that the latter loses greatly of its strength by the long keeping and transportation, which it undergoes.



Relation or iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth in New England, by certaine English adventurers, both merchants and others. With their difficult passage, their safe arrivall, their joyfull building of, and comfortable planting themselves in the now well defended towne of New Plimoth. As also a relation of foure severall discoveries, since made by some of the same English planters there resident, &c.

London, printed, 1622.

WEDnesday the sixt of September, the wind comming east north east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plimoth, having bene kindly intertained and courteously used by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length, by God's providence, vpon the ninth of November following, by breake of the day we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so goodly a land, and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to H

reioyce together, and praise God, that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a riuer, ten leagues to the South of the Cape; but at night, the winde being contrary, we put round againe for the Bay of Cape Cod: and vpon the 11. of Nouember, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour, and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer, from land to land, compassed about, to the very sea, with okes, pines, iuniper, sassafras and other sweet wood; it is a harbour, wherein 1000. saile of ships may safely ride: there we relieved our selues, with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted, to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of fowle, that euer we saw.

And euery day we saw whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had instruments, and means to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which, to our great grieve, we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of oyle: they preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here; for Cod we assayed, but found none; there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea pearle, but we could not eat them; for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round and circling, that, before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come neere the shore, by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to vs; for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day, before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should, by common consent, agree to make and chole, and set our hands to this that followes, word for word.

IN the name of God, amen. We, whose names are vnder-written, the loyall subiects of our dread, soveraigne lord, king Iames, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the christian faith, and honour of our king and countrey, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant, and combine our selues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the generall good of the colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names, Cape Cod 11. of Nouember, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord king Iames, of England, France, and Ireland, 18. and of Scotland 54. *anno domini* 1620.

The same day, so soone as we could, we let a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left: as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with: they found it to be a small neck of land: on this side, were we lay, is the Bay, and the further side, the sea; the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit's depth, excellent blacke earth; all wooded with okes, pines, sassafras,

iuniper, birch, holly, vines, some alh, walnut; the wood, for the most part, open and without vnderwood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their boat with iuniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt, the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of November, we vnshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe, in bestowing her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened with the people's lying in her, which kept vs long there; for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the carpenter had finished her; our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to walk, as they had great need; but while we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in fve or fixe dayes at the furthest, but our carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance, to travaile by land into the countrey, (which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their backs) to see whether it might be fit for us to seate in or no, and the rather, because, as we sayled into the harbour, there seemed to be a river, opening it selfe into the maine land; the willingnes of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his musket, sword, and corset, vnder the conduct of capitaine Miles Standish, vnto whom was adioyned, for counsell and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday the 15. of November, they were set a-shore, and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file, and marched about the space of a myle, by the sea, they espyed fve or fixe people, with a dogge, coming towards them, who were savages, who, when they saw them, ran into the wood, and whifled the dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be master Iones,

the maller and some of his men, for they were a shore, and knew of their coming; but, after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the woods, least other of the Indians should lie in ambush: but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe; but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles, by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning, perceived how they run vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three sentinells; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

In the morning, so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, and had the tracke, vntill we had compassed the head of a long creak, and there they tooke into another wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings; but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired and flood in need off; for we brought neither beere nor water with vs; and our victuals was onely bisket and Holland cheefe, and a little bottle of aqua-vitæ, so as we were sore a-thirst.

About ten a clocke, we came into a deepe valley, full of brush, wood gaile, and long grasse, through which we found little paths or traets, and there we saw a deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe, and drunke our first New England water, with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our lues. When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which, within a short while after, we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee

were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed river; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere pond of fresh water, being about a musket shot broad, and twise as long; there grew also many small vines, and foule and deere haunted there; there grew much tataras: from thence we went on and found much plaine ground, about fiftie acres, fit for the plow, and some fiques, where the Indians had formerly planted their corne; after this, some thought it best, for nearnesse of the river, to goe downe and travele on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tyred, and lagged behind; so we stayd and gathered them vp, and struck into the land againe: where we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old matts, and had a wooden thing, like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot, layd in a hole hole, at the end thereof; we, musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten; we supposed there were many other things, but, because we deemed them graues, we put in the bow againe, and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vnouched; because we thought, it would be odious vnto them, to ransacke their sepulchers.

We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corne this yeare, and many wall-nut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had bene, and foure or fve old planks layed together; also we found a great kelle, which had bene some shipp's kelle and brought out of Europe; there was also an heape of sand made like the former, but it was newly done; we might see, how they had padled it with their hands; which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old basket, full of faire Ind an corne, and digged further and found a fine great new basket, full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew,

which was a very goodly sight; the basket was round, and narrow at the top: it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made; but whilst wee were busie about these things, we set our men sentinell in a round ring, all but two or threer, which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence, what to doe with it and the kelle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kelle, and as much of the corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our shallop came, if we could finde any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kelle againe, and satisfie them for their corne; so wee tooke all the eares, and put a good deale of the loose corne in the kelle, for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

Not farre from this place, we found the remainder of an old fort, or palizide, which, as we conceied, had bene made by some christians; this was also hard by that place, which we thought had bene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes, by an high banke, standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the Sea: that, which was next vnto vs, was the lesse; the other arm was more than twise as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to discover; for wee had commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side; wee could not beleene it was a canoa, till we came neare it, so we returned, leauing the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our randevous that night, making a great fire, and a baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three sentinells all night; every one standing when his turn came, while fve or six inches of match was burning. It

proved a very rainie night. In the morning, we tooke our kette and sunke it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet; and so coasted the wood againe, to come home, in which we were thredly paf-led and lost our way; as we wandred, we came to a tree, where a yong spritt was bowed downe over a bow, and some acornes strewed vnderneath; Stephen Hopkins sayd, it had beene to catch some deere; so as we were looking at it, William Bradford, being in the reare, when he came, looked also vpon it; and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the legs; it was a very pretie devise, made with a rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs.

(To be continued.)

[From the Gazette of the united States.]

ESSAY ON SMUGGLING.

"*There is no kind of dishonesty, into which good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by smuggling, or, encouraging smugglers by buying their goods.*"

WHEN a nation is beginning its political existence, it has the same occasion to form good habits, as an individual when he is entering into life. It is not only requisite, that suitable laws should be enacted, and enforced with penalties; but it will have an admirable effect, if the people will enter into associations, and take measures among themselves, for co-operating with the views of government. By manifesting their zeal, and patriotism in this way, they may produce a moral controul over the actions of men, and lead them into a disposition to observe legal institutions. The inefficacy of associations will be urged as an argument against such an experiment; but one should not decide too hastily in this matter. If the execution of the laws rested wholly on that footing, their operation would be feeble indeed; so, on the other hand, where obedience is expected

only from the rigour of penalties, the law will be evaded, and its object defeated. It is of great importance, that government should engage different passions of the human mind, in its service. Fear of punishment is one very powerful restraint from disobedience: but it will not suffice alone. Men who pretend, that an appeal to the fears of people is the best, or the only method of making them virtuous citizens, must either be ignorant of human nature, or take a pleasure in degrading it. In a free government, and, more especially, in its first organization, no individual will have reason to fear the laws, unless the bulk of the people love and regard them. When a man can violate a law, without any compunction of conscience, or injury to his character, there is nothing more certain, than that he can elude punishment. If he saves his character, he preserves his friends, and does not counteract the wishes of the community. There are so many, who are tacitly his accomplices, that it is difficult to find unbiassed testimony, for supporting a prosecution.

It will be alleged, that men, who have principle enough to associate in favour of collecting the revenue, will be honest enough to oppose smuggling, without any such association. There is some fallacy, I think, in such a suggestion. Many people annex the idea of infamy to the discoverer of a fraud, committed on the public revenue. This will prevent many persons, who are themselves disposed to pay the duties punctually, from complaining of others, whom they know to be dishonest in this respect. It is evident, that, if a number of worthy persons entered into an agreement to discountenance smuggling, the objection of infamy, against informing, would be removed. If no other reason could be assigned, for associating against smugglers, this would be a striking one, that such a measure would check confederacies in favour of smuggling. The principal complaint against voluntary combinations, is, that their force and observance are of short duration. It is unquestionably true, that they have a temporary effect, in favour of the object intended. In the present instance, nothing more is re-

quired. If the laws can have a favourable introduction, they will derive some energy from that very circumstance. The power of habit is universally felt and acknowledged. It has even a stronger influence, in producing obedience to the laws, than a fear of punishment, where the penalties are severe, and rigorously inflicted. Both these causes, united, give a peculiar efficacy to government. They will, by their natural progress, create that additional tie, that is imposed by a sense of duty, and a regard to character.

Why have mankind, in general, discovered a stronger inclination, to defraud the public, than to wrong individuals? It is probably owing, in some degree, to their being able to do it, with less sting of conscience, and less injury to their reputation. But why do not the character, and the conscience of a man, require him to be honest to the public, as well as to individuals? It is, no doubt, because people have not been accustomed to feel so strong an obligation, in the one case, as in the other. But why do we practically make this distinction, when there is, in fact, no intrinsic difference? The most obvious reason is, that men, in the common intercourse of life, find a greater inconvenience, in countenancing dishonesty in private, than in public transactions. This circumstance induces a common consent, in favour of the practice of private justice; and fixes a stigma upon the violators of it. It seems, then, that common consent, or, to give it another name, public opinion, is one powerful tie, that holds men to their private duty. The same cause, did it equally exist in public affairs, would operate no less powerfully. It must have an existence, before it can have an application or an effect.

Has the public opinion, in times past, been in favour of rendering to government, what was due to it?—In many instances, the reverse has been the case; and people have, without any feelings of shame or remorse, evaded public obligations. If government has been generally defrauded, the fact itself proves, that the common consent of mankind was not withheld from it: for, had the public mind been opposed to the fraud, it could

not well have happened, or, at any rate, would have been deterred and punished. It requires a considerable degree of force, to counteract the current of popular sentiment. Few violators of the rules of private honour and justice, escape reproach, if they do punishment.

There is no natural propensity in merchants, to defraud the public of its revenues, any more than there is, to deceive their customers, in the weight and measure of goods. The reason, as was before suggested, why they are honest in one case, and not in the other, is, that their reputation, their interest, and their conscience, do not equally require it, in both cases. One feels a confidence, that his banker, though he is not strictly watched, will render an exact account of the cash committed to his care. Government would have the same security, that justice would take place in public affairs, if the habits and feelings of the people were equally favourable to public honesty. The trader durst not impose on his customers, if he wished to do so, because he knows he will sustain a greater inconvenience, in the loss of custom, than he gains benefit, by a particular deception. I once more repeat, that if it would equally hurt his character, to cheat or injure the public, he would be equally restrained from doing it.

As the influence of public opinion is known to be so forcible; and as the honour and prosperity of our country require, that the laws and regulations should have a good beginning, it is worth while to bestow some pains, in predisposing the people, to give their aid and countenance, in carrying into effect the measures of government. Many persons pretend, that such a determination already exists. It seems not to be questioned, even by any refractory individual, that a revenue must be raised, and that it must proceed from imposts and excises. The current of opinion, it will be said, is now sufficiently in favour of such a system. But let us not be deceived. Those who set their hearts at rest, in this stage of the business, are in a delusion. The public discernment has suggested the eligibility of an impost; but still the public temper is not sufficiently roused into indignation against

smugglers, and other defrauders.—Men may be led, by reflexion, to judge of a measure with propriety, before they feel a disposition to exert themselves, in favour of its execution. In some cases, a change of principles precedes a change of manners; and men think of a subject a great while, before they act upon it, at all. The first difficulty is surmounted—we are in a right way of thinking; and it only remains, that we take an honest, spirited way of acting. Let us not only give the laws a kind reception, but suffer them, and even aid them, to proceed with vigour and success.

When the system is ripened into a proper state of maturity, the temptation to defraud the public treasury, will become weaker and weaker. Our opposition to the collection of impost, under the British government, was occasioned, in part, by circumstances resulting from the case, and which no longer have an existence. Men do not transgress, till they are often tempted; and they will not be tempted to do wrong, when the balance of motives is in favour of doing right. It should be a leading object of legislative care, to destroy, or rather counteract the temptation to fraud, by increasing the causes, that induce men to think an honest conduct the most eligible. In proportion as men have been habituated to any vicious practice, or, as they will derive advantage by indulging the vice, should the restraints be multiplied to prevent it. Before this can well be effected, it should be known, what reasons originally operated, in establishing the habit; and whether the same causes still continue. For it must be observed, that we do not always relinquish a practice, precisely when the circumstance, that led to it, is removed. Our having been accustomed to it, becomes, of itself, a reason for its continuance. If we apply these reasonings to our present situation, with respect to the collection of the revenue, it will lead us to the following enquiry—what causes formerly induced us to connive at frauds on the public revenue?—Are these causes now in operation?—we shall find they are not wholly taken away. The impositions were unconstitutional. That

objection to the payment of the duties now ceases. But there are established causes, that render the collection of public monies, in all situations, a little precarious and difficult. The origin of the evil is not to be traced to any natural desire in men, to cheat the government, merely for the sake of cheating it—it results from temptations, that are suggested, by the practicability and safety of the thing. Our desire, to gain advantages over the public treasury, is not counteracted by so many causes, as restrain us from over-reaching private persons. The inclination of people, to promote their own interest, is the same, in both cases. From this view of the subject, I hope, the remarks, that have been offered in support of associations, in the present crisis of affairs, will not be deemed uninteresting, or foreign to the point. I persuade myself, also, that a few observations, conveying to the legislature, some hints, respecting their proceedings, will not have too great an appearance of presumption.

The penalties, annexed to revenue laws, should be of such a nature, as will fix a disgrace upon the characters, on whom they are inflicted. There is an aptitude, in certain punishments, to restrain certain crimes. Great rigour does not produce the effect, that is proposed. This is apt to mitigate the abhorrence against the offence, and soften it down into pity towards the offender. The human mind is so constituted, that different affections counteract each other. There is, in many minds, an habitual temper of revenge, against government, for its severity. This can only be controlled, be exciting, in an higher degree, a detestation against crimes. Excessive fines, long imprisonments, and severe corporal punishments, indicate a very depraved state of society. The laws should appeal to the feelings of men, in such a manner, as to induce a sense of shame for the consequences of the punishment, no less than a lively fear of enduring the pains of it. This end may partly be promoted by stigmatizing offenders, in the style of the laws, with epithets that imply odium and infamy. Men involuntarily associate their ideas; and words, that have usually conveyed an opprobrious meaning, will continue to make similar impres-

sions. I do not entertain a doubt, that great utility may be derived, from couching the laws, against smuggling, in a contemptuous language.

The defrauders of the public should likewise be debarred, from holding any office, or performing any service, that implied confidence or respect. Such an exclusion would stamp ideas of indignity on the public mind, against those who evade the payment of duties. If they were prohibited from serving on jury; or if their oaths were rendered invalid, it would have great effect in restraining the practice of smuggling. The receivers of smuggled goods should have a share, in the disgrace and punishment. Indeed the whole regulations, that relate to the collection of the revenue, should carry the marks of legislative disapprobation of every species of collusion. The contempt of government, expressed in a pointed manner, will be more efficacious, than its resentment.

It would much contribute to excite general derision against public dishonesty, if the law should direct a register to be published annually, containing the names of all, who had been detected in smuggling, or that any way advised or aided, in defrauding the revenue. The minds of men are differently wrought upon; and by diversifying the punishment, and frowns of government, the feelings of most people will be interested in observing the laws.

In my next number, the subject shall be resumed, and placed in another point of view.

[To be continued.]



Theory of earthquakes.

From a lecture, delivered by John Winthrop, Esq. professor of mathematics and philosophy, at Cambridge in New England.

PHILOSOPHY, like every thing else, has had its fashions; and the reigning mode of late has been, to explain every thing by electricity. It is not long, since we were amused with pompous accounts of the wonderful effects of electricity, in the practice of physic. It was extolled, as a perfect Catholicon; and represented, as affording the most easy, and, at the same time, the most effec-

tual means of conveying into the body, the active particles of all medicines, emetic, cathartic, alterative, &c. and as curing, or at least relieving, almost instantaneously, the most obstinate and intractable disorders, which the human body is liable to; gout, blindness, deafness, dumbness—and what not? But this affair is pretty well over for the present. Now, it seems, it is to be the cause of earthquakes. Electricity indeed is, at this day, certainly known to be a much more extensive principle in nature, than was suspected a few years ago; and to be instrumental in the production of effects, where it was thought to have no concern. It must not, however, be concluded from hence, that it is the sole principle of natural effects, and that it does every thing. It is true, the very ingenious dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, has, with singular sagacity, and, in my opinion, with happy success, accounted, in this way, for the phenomena of thunder and lightning; and has made discoveries upon this subject, which are not only extremely curious in speculation, but of high importance in practice. But this is no argument, that electricity is also the cause of earthquakes.

“That the agents, which are able to produce effects, so extraordinary as those of an earthquake; which can heave up such enormous masses of matter, and put into the most vehement commotions vast tracts of land and sea, of many hundred miles in extent—that the agents, I say, which can do all this, and more, must be very powerful—will not admit of a doubt. Now we know of nothing in nature, more powerful than the particles of certain bodies, converted into vapour by the action of fire. Fire then, and proper materials for it to act upon, are probably the principal agents in this affair. And what greatly strengthens the probability, is, that those countries, which have burning mountains, are most subject to earthquakes; and that those mountains rage with uncommon fury, about the time when the circumjacent countries are torn with convulsions—an argument this, that earthquakes and the eruptions of such mountains, are owing to one and the same cause. But we must be more particular.

I. The earth is not solid throughout, but contains within it large holes, pits and caverns; as is agreed by all natural historians. There are very probably also long, crooked, unequal passages, which run winding through a great extent of earth, and form a communication between very distant regions. Some of these cavities contain nothing but air, or the fumes of fermenting minerals: in others, there are currents of water.

II. This globe is a very heterogeneous body. Besides the two grand divisions of it into solid and fluid parts, each of these is again divisible into an infinite number of those. Although our knowledge of the earth reaches but a little way below its surface, yet so far as we have penetrated, it appears to be a compage of a vast variety of solid substances, ranged in a manner, which to us seems to have not much of regularity in it. Here we find earths, stones, salts, sulphurs, minerals, metals, &c. and a great number of inferior species, under each of these general heads, blended and intermingled with each other. Many of these are combustible, or of a texture proper to be turned by fire into flame and vapour. And besides the pure elementary water, if there be any such, the aqueous parts of the globe receive peculiar tinctures, from the beds and veins through which they run; so that perhaps there may be almost as many sorts of waters, as there are of solid substances. Thus some waters are charged with sulphureous particles; some, with particles of iron; and others, with those of other minerals. And the subterraneous rivers and streams, thus impregnated with different particles, may, by their confluence, produce an almost infinite variety of mixtures in the earth.

III. Heat, it is well known, is a grand agent in most natural productions; and the inner parts of the earth are sufficiently furnished with it. Some parts indeed, as the volcanos, are actually on fire and burn; but there is moreover, a heat without flame, diffused through the interior regions of the earth. This is evident from the influence of hot springs, and from the warmth, which is always found at great depths, as in the bottoms of mines.

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IV. There seems to be an inexhaustible source of this heat in the attractive powers, which sir Isaac Newton has shewn to belong to the particles of matter. For, heat consisting in a peculiar kind of intestine motion of the parts of bodies, whatever tends to produce this motion in bodies, will cause them to grow hot. Now such a motion may be produced, by the particles of different bodies rushing together, in virtue of their attractive powers; of which that great man has given a very copious collection of instances, in the 31st question, at the end of his optics, whither I must refer you. In some of them, not only a very sudden and violent heat, but an actual flame, is produced, by the bare mixing of two cold bodies together; and that, even without the presence of the air, which we find absolutely necessary to our culinary fires. There is so strong an attraction between iron and sulphur, that, even the gross body of sulphur, powdered, and with an equal weight of iron filings and a little water, made into paste, in a few hours grows too hot to be touched, and emits a flame. When iron is dissolving in a mixture of oil of vitriol and common water, there instantly arises a great heat and violent ebullition, with fumes copiously exhaling; which are so very inflammable, that being set on fire, they go off at once like a gun with a great explosion. Having thus seen, what a perpetual source of heat there is in these powerful, active principles, continually operating within the bowels of the earth—let us next inquire, what effects may be expected from it?

V. It is a known property of heat, to expand bodies, to rarify them, and enlarge their dimensions; and, when raised to a higher degree, to separate their parts, and make them fly from each other. And when the heat is intense, and the particles of the heated body are prevented from flying away, till they become thoroughly hot; it will require very strong vessels, to hinder their bursting forth with a violent explosion. Thus, a single drop of common water, inclosed in a glass bubble, and laid upon the fire, as soon as it becomes hot, will burst the bubble, with a report scarcely inferior to that of a pistol;

and water, in larger quantities, has been heated to that degree, as to rend asunder very strong vessels of iron, in which it has been endeavoured to be confined. What the consequence then would be, of a great body of water's suddenly making its way into a flaming cavern, whose sulphureous or bituminous fires are not extinguished but enraged, by water—and of its being there, almost instantaneously, converted into vapour—your own imagination may easily represent to you. This, it is very likely, has sometimes been the case, with respect to those famous volcanos, *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, both which border on the sea. You see here, what water may do; but there are many other bodies, which cohere more strongly; as sulphur and nitre, for example, whose vapor is still more powerful than that of water. This is evident from the composition of gun powder, a very small quantity of which, when turned into vapor, every one knows, is able to remove any obstacle that opposes its expansion, and to burst the firmest rocks. The paste above mentioned, made of powdered sulphur and iron filings, if put a few feet under ground, will by degrees cause the earth over it to heave and crack, to let out the flame; thus making an artificial earthquake. And therefore, if a water, saturated with sulphureous particles, should, in its passage under ground, soak into a large bed of iron ore, or a strong chalybeate water into a bed of sulphur; the mixture would doubtless perform in great, what this experiment does in miniature. A virgolic water mixing with iron, if in sufficient quantities, would be followed by the like effect.

You have now, I suppose, before you the general causes of earthquakes. If those inflammable vapours be pent up in close caverns, so as to find no vent, all they are collected in a large quantity; so soon as they take fire in any part, the flame will spread itself, wherever it meets with materials to convey it, with as great rapidity, perhaps, as it does in a train of gun powder; and the vapours, produced from hence, will rush along through the subterraneous grots, as they are able to find or force for themselves a passage; and by heaving up the earth, that lies over them, will make a kind of pro-

gressive swell or undulation*, in which we suppose earthquakes commonly to consist; and will at length burst the caverns with a great shaking of the earth, as in springing a mine; and so discharge themselves into the open air.

The extraordinary commotions of the sea, observed at Barbadoes and St. Martin's, within a few hours of the great earthquakes, one of which shook Spain and Portugal, and the other, New England, with some of the neighbouring parts of America; will

NOTE.

* Naturalists have distinguished earthquakes into two kinds; one, when the motion is horizontal, or from side to side; the other, when it is perpendicular, or right up and down. This distinction may, for aught I know, be just; and yet, perhaps, earthquakes more commonly consist in a kind of undulatory motion, which may include both the others. For as a wave of water, when raised to its greatest height, subsides, and, in subsiding, spreads itself horizontally; so, in like manner, a wave of earth, if I may be allowed the expression, must, in its descent, partake both of an horizontal and perpendicular motion at the same time: and, for the same reason, it must have had both these motions in its ascent; but those particles, which had been carried forward in one direction, in the ascent, will return in a contrary direction, in the descent. Hence, the velocity, wherewith buildings are agitated by an earthquake, appears different at different heights, they being rocked with a kind of angular motion, like that of a cradle; the upper parts of them moving swifter, or through greater spaces, in the same time, than the lower. This you may clearly conceive by turning your thoughts to the case of a vessel, floating at rest upon stagnant water, and then suddenly agitated by a great wave rolling under it. In the motion of ascent, the mast of the vessel would be thrown forward, in the same direction as the wave was moving; and in the motion of descent, backward, or in the contrary direction; and in both these cases, the top of the mast would move through greater spaces, than the bottom."

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naturally be ascribed by every body to those earthquakes, or at least to the same causes as those earthquakes are. Now, for my part, I can hardly persuade myself, that the bare agitation of the earth at those times would be great enough to put the sea into such vehement commotions. To account for these things satisfactorily, it seems to me, that we must have recourse to an eruption of the vapours, which caused those earthquakes. At those times, these furious vapours, impatient of restraint, must have continued to drive along through their subterraneous passages, till they found some place, where the top of the caverns, which contained them, was not of sufficient strength to confine them; and there they would burst out of their dungeons, and spring up into day. The eruptions, which caused those uncommon motions of the sea, that surprised the inhabitants of Barbadoes and St. Martin's, were very probably made in the Atlantic ocean, to the eastward of those islands, and near the same latitudes.—And what must have been the commotion, when the vapours, which were able to shake such great extents of land and sea, as we are sure were shaken in these earthquakes, made their way, with united force, through the vast body of water that lay over them! No doubt the water foamed, and boiled, and raged with inconceivable fury, and was agitated into overgrown mountainous waves. The first effect of the eruption probably was, that all the water, which lay directly over the spot, where the bottom of the ocean gaped, to let out the vapours, was blown right up, almost like a compact body, to a great height in the air. The bottom doubtless closed again as soon as the vapours were discharged; but there must have been a pit or cavity left in the ocean, in the place deserted by the water:—Of what dimensions, it is impossible for us to say; though from what followed, it must have been very considerable. The next step would be, that the neighbouring water would rush in from all sides, to fill up the vacancy; first, from the nearer parts; and then by degrees from the remoter; and by that means, form a spacious concave all around, on the surface of the ocean; the centre of which would be this pit.

The motion of the water, descending to fill such a pit, was what, I suppose, might draw off the water from the shore of St. Martin's: which was the first circumstance observed there. The water, by thus descending to fill the pit, having fallen below its proper level, would next be raised above it, erecting itself into a mountain, over the place where the pit was made: and then, by falling and rising alternately in this place, would communicate an undulatory motion all around it: and the waves, thus excited, would be more numerous, and of greater breadth, as the dimensions of the pit first made were larger. Mean time, the water thrown up, at the beginning, in a body into the air, would, by its weight, fall down in cataracts, and add greatly to the confusion. A motion like this, once begun, must needs be propagated to very considerable distances, before it could be entirely lost; and that, to a degree sufficient, I should think, to cause such great waves, and to such a number, as were observed at the places before mentioned. Whether this, or something like this, might not probably have been the process of these extraordinary scenes in the ocean, I submit to the judgment of the reader. And if he shall be of this opinion, he will doubtless make a pause, and reflect on the great goodness of heaven, in causing the vapours to break forth in the ocean—a place, where they could do the least hurt. The effects which must have followed, had these impetuous been directed against the foundations blasts of a great and populous city, his own imagination will paint to him, in livelier colours, than I can pretend to do."



An essay on free trade and finances, particularly shewing, what supplies of public revenue may be drawn from merchandise, without injuring our trade, or burdening our people.

By a citizen of Philadelphia.

HAVING lately published a dissertation, on that political union and confederation, which is necessary for the preservation and happiness of the thirteen united states of North-America, I now proceed to consider

some of the great departments of business, which must fall under the management of the great council of the union, and their officers.

The first thing, which naturally offers itself to consideration, is the expense of government; this is a *seu quæ non* of the whole, and all its parts. No kind of administration can be carried on, without expense; and the scale, or degree of plan and execution, must ever be limited by it. Two grand considerations offer themselves here. (1.) The estimate of the expenses which government requires; and (2.) such ways and means of raising sufficient money to defray them, as will be most easy, and least hurtful and oppressive to the subject.

The first is not my present principal object: I shall therefore only observe upon it, that the wants of government, like the wants of nature, are few, and easily supplied: 'tis luxury that incurs the most expense, and drinks up the largest fountains of supply; and, what is most to be lamented, the same luxury, which drinks up the greatest supplies, does at the same time corrupt the body, enervate its strength, and waste those powers, which were designed for use, ornament or delight. The ways and means of supply are the object of my principal attention at present. I will premise a few propositions, which appear to me to deserve great consideration here.

I. When a sum of money is wanted, one way of raising it may be much easier than another. This is equally true in states, as in individuals. A man must always depend, for supply, on those articles, which he can best spare, or which he can diminish with least inconvenience: he should first sell such articles, as he has purposely provided for market: if these be not enough, then such articles of his estate as he can best spare, always sacrificing luxuries first, and necessities last of all.

II. Any interest or thing whatever, on which the burden of tax is laid, is diminished either in quantity or neat value; e. g. if money is taxed, part of the sum goes to pay the tax; if lands, part of the produce or price goes to pay it; if goods, part of the price, which the goods will sell for, goes to pay it, &c.

III. The consumption of any thing, on which the burden of tax is laid, will always be thereby lessened; because such tax will raise the price of the article taxed, and fewer people will be able or willing to pay such advance of price, than would purchase, if the price was not raised: and, consequently,

IV. The burden of tax ought to lie heaviest on those articles, the use and consumption of which are least necessary to the community; and lightest on those articles, the use and consumption of which are most necessary to the community. I think this so plain, that it cannot need any thing to be said on it, either by way of illustration or proof.

V. The staples of any country are both the source and measure of its wealth, and therefore ought to be encouraged and increased, as far as possible. No country can enjoy or consume more, than they can raise, make, or purchase. No country can purchase more than they can pay for; and no country can make payment beyond the amount of the surplus of their staples, which remains, after their their own consumption is subtracted. If they go beyond this, they must run in debt, i. e. eat the calf in the cow's belly, or consume, this year, the proceeds of the next; which is a direct step to ruin, and must (if continued) end in destruction.

VI. The great staples of the united states, are our husbandry, fisheries, and manufactures. Trade comes in, as the hand-maid of them all—the servant that tends upon them—the nurse, that takes away their redundancies, and supplies all their wants. These we may consider as the great sources of our wealth; and our trade, as the great conduit, through which it flows. All these we ought, in sound policy, to guard, encourage and increase, as far as possible, and to load them, as little as possible, with burdens and embarrassments.

VII. When any country finds, that any articles are growing into use, and their consumption increasing so far, as to become hurtful to the prosperity of the people, or to corrupt their morals and economy, it is the interest and good policy of such country, to check and diminish the use and consumption

of such articles, down to such degrees, as shall consist with the greatest happiness and purity of their people.

VIII. This is done the most effectually and unexceptionably, by taxing such articles, and thereby raising their price so high, as shall be necessary to reduce their consumption, as far as is needful for the general good. The force of this observation has been felt by all nations; and sumptuary laws have been tried in all shapes, to prevent or reduce such hurtful consumptions: but none can do it so effectually, as raising the price of them. This touches the feelings of every purchaser, and connects the use of such articles with the pain of the purchaser, who cannot afford them, so closely and so constantly, as cannot fail to operate by way of diminution or disuse of such consumption. And as to such rich or prodigal people, as can or will go to the price of such articles, they are the very persons, whom I think the most able and suitable to pay taxes to the state. I think it would not be difficult to enumerate a great number of such articles of luxury, pride, or mere ornament, which are growing into such excessive use among us, as to become dangerous to the wealth, economy, morals, and health of our people, viz. distilled spirits of all sorts, especially whiskey, and country rum; all imported wines; silks of all sorts, cambricks, lawns, laces, &c. &c. superfine cloths and velvets; jewels of all kinds, &c. to which might be added, a large catalogue of articles, though not so capitally dangerous as these, yet such, as would admit a check in their consumption, without any damage to the state, such as sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, fine linens; all cloths and stuffs generally used by the richer class of people, &c. all which may be judiciously taxed at ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred per cent. on their first importation; and to these might be added, a small duty of perhaps five per cent. on all other imported goods whatever.

Two things are here to be considered and proved. 1. That this mode of taxation would be more beneficial to the community, than any other: and, 2d. That this mode is practicable.

If these two things are fairly and clearly proved, I think there can be

no room left for doubt, whether this kind of taxation ought to be immediately adopted and put in practice.

I will offer my reasons in favour of these propositions, as fully, clearly, and truly as I can; and hope they may be judged worthy of a candid attention. I will endeavour in the first place, to point out the benefits arising from this mode of taxation.

[To be continued.]



Account of the settlement of New-Madrid;—in a letter to dr. John Morgan, Philadelphia.

New Madrid, April 14, 1789.

Sir,

THE inclemency of the season, and the precautions necessary for the advantage and security of our party and enterprize, rendered our voyage, down the Ohio, a long though not a disagreeable one. We have now been in the Mississippi two months, most of which time has been taken up in visiting the lands, from cape St. Côme, on the north, to this place on the south; and westward to the river St. François, the general course of which is parallel with the Mississippi, and from twenty to thirty miles distant.

Colonel Morgan, with nineteen others, undertook to reconnoitre the lands, above or north of the Ohio: this gave him the earliest opportunity of producing his credentials to Don Manuel Perez, governor of the Illinois, who treated him, and those that accompanied him, with the greatest politeness. Their arrival, after their business was known, created a general joy throughout the country, among all ranks of its inhabitants:—even the neighbouring Indians have expressed the greatest pleasure at our arrival and intention of settlement. There is not a single nation or tribe of Indians, who claim, or pretend to claim a foot of the land, granted to colonel Morgan. This is a grand matter in favour of our settlement.

The governor very cheerfully supplied our party with every necessary, demanded by colonel Morgan, and particularly with horses and guides, to reconnoitre all the lands to the western limits, and from north to south in the interior country.

In an undertaking of this nature, it is not to be doubted, but different opinions have prevailed amongst us, with respect to the most advantageous situation to establish the first settlement of farmers and planters. A considerable number of reputable French families, on the American side of the Illinois, who propose to join us, wished to influence our judgments in favour of a very beautiful situation and country, about twelve leagues above the Ohio. A number of American farmers, deputed from post Vincent, and some others of our party, were delighted with the country opposite to the Ohio, one league back from the river, to which there is access by a rivulet, that empties itself into the Mississippi, about two and a half or three miles above the Ohio. Some declared for a situation, to which there is a good landing, at the highest floods, about nine miles below the Ohio, and in a very fine country: but after maturely considering every circumstance, and fully examining the country in this neighbourhood, we have united in the resolution, to establish our new city, whence this letter is dated, about twelve leagues below the Ohio, at a place formerly called L'Anse la Graille, or the Greasy Bend, below the mouth of a river, marked in captain Hutchins's map, Chepoufea or Sound river. Here the banks of the Mississippi, for a considerable length, are high, dry, and pleasant; and the soil, westward to the river St. François, is of the most desirable quality for Indian corn, tobacco, flax, hemp, cotton, and indigo; though by some it is deemed too rich for wheat—insomuch that we verily believe, there is not an acre of uncultivable or even indifferent land, within a thousand square miles.

The country rises gradually from the Mississippi, into fine, dry, pleasant and healthful grounds, superior (we believe) in beauty and quality, to every other part of America.

The limits of our new city of Madrid, are to extend four miles south, down the river, and two miles west from it, so as to cross a beautiful, living, deep lake of the purest spring water, one hundred yards wide, and several leagues in length, north and south, emptying itself by a constant,

rapid, narrow stream, through the centre of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called St. Anne's, are high, beautiful, and pleasant; the water deep, clear and sweet: the bottom a clean sand, free from wood, shrubs, or other vegetables, and well stored with silt. On each side of this delightful lake, streets are to be laid out, one hundred feet wide, and a road to be continued round it, of the same breadth: and the trees are directed to be preserved forever, for the health and pleasure of the citizens.

A street one hundred and twenty feet wide, on the banks of the Mississippi, is laid out; and the trees are directed to be preserved for the same purpose.

Twelve acres, in a central part of the city, are to be reserved in like manner, and to be ornamented, improved and regulated by the magistracy of the city, for public walks; and forty lots, of half an acre each, are appropriated to such public uses as the citizens shall recommend, or the chief magistrate direct; and one lot, of twelve acres, is to be reserved for the king's use. One city lot, of half an acre, and one out lot of five acres, to be a free gift to each of the six hundred first settlers.

Our surveyors are now engaged in laying out the city, and out lots, upon an extensive and approved plan, and in surveying the country into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each, previous to individuals making any choice or settlement. These farms, and the conditions of settlement, being also upon a plan universally satisfactory, will prevent the endless law-suits, which the different modes, established in other countries, have entailed upon the posterity of the first settlers.

We have built cabins, and a magazine for provisions; and are proceeding to make gardens, and to plough and plant one hundred acres of the finest *prairie* land in the world, with Indian corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes.

The timber here differs, in some instances, from what you have in the middle states of America; yet we have white oaks of an extraordinary great size, tall and straight; also black oaks, mulberry, ash, poplar, pecumons, crab-apple in abundance, and

larger than ever we saw before, hickery, walnut, locust, &c. and fallacious trees of two feet diameter, and of an extraordinary length and straightness, are common here. The underwood is principally cane and spice.

The kinds of timber, unknown to you, are cypress, pacan, coffee, cucumber, and some others. The cypress grows on the low land, along the river, and is equal in quality to white cedar. We have a fine tract of this in our neighbourhood, which colonel Morgan has directed to be surveyed, into lots of a suitable size, to accommodate every farm.

We are pleased with the climate, and have reason to believe, that we have at last found a country, equal to our most sanguine wishes.

Several principal French gentlemen, at Ste. Genevieve, have offered to conduct colonel Morgan, or any person he pleases to send, to as fine iron and lead mines, as any in America, each within a small day's journey of the Mississippi, and within the bounds of his territory. It is intended to preserve these, for some person or persons of sufficient capital and knowledge, to undertake to work them.

Salt springs are said to be dispersed through all the country: as we have this information from the best authority, we believe it; but have not yet visited any.

The banks of the Mississippi, for many leagues in extent, commencing about twenty miles above the Ohio, are a continued chain of lime-stone; but we have not as yet found any in this neighbourhood.

We could mention many other particulars, which would be pleasing to our friends; but this would require more time to write, than we can spare from our other necessary employments. We must however add, that a thousand farms are directed to be surveyed, which will soon be executed, for the immediate choice and settlement of all families, who shall come here next fall; and that the months of September, October, November, December, and January, are the most proper to arrive here, as the farmer can begin to plough in February, and continue that work until christmalls.

After the surveys are completed, colonel Morgan and major M'Cully will proceed to New York, *via* New Orleans and Cuba; and colonel Shreve, captain Light, and captain Taylor, with all others, who conclude to return immediately for their families, will ascend the Ohio in time, to leave Fort Pitt again, for this place, in October.

Captain Hewling undertakes the direction of a number of single men, to plant a hundred acres of Indian corn, some tobacco, cotton, flax, and hemp—colonel Morgan has supplied him with horses, ploughs, &c. he will be able to build a good house and mill, against his father's and brother's arrival here, next fall.

As not a single person of our whole party, consisting of seventy men, has been sick an hour, nor met with any accident; but, on the contrary, all enjoy perfect health, and are in high spirits on the discovery of this happy climate, we think it needless to mention the name of any one in particular. We are, sir,

Your obedient, humble servants.

Signed

George M'Cully, John Ward,
John Dodge, Israel Shreve,
Peter Light, John Stewart,
David Rankin, James Rhea,
Samuel Stilman, jun.

To dr. John Morgan, Philad.

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Whether it be most beneficial to the united states, to promote agriculture, or to encourage the mechanic arts and manufactures?—from a discourse, pronounced by John Morgan, M. D. F. R. S. at a meeting of the Shandean Society of Newbern, North Carolina, March 15, 1789.

AGRICULTURE is the oldest employment of man, even of our first parents and primitive ancestors. It has been ever held in the highest estimation, by wise men of every nation, for the innocence that attends it, and for the health and vigour of body it produces. It has had a great number of sovereign princes, amongst its patrons and cultivators, not only for the pleasures, but also for the profits, attendant on its pursuits, as well in administering to all

the most essential wants of individuals, as in producing riches to a nation. Some countries, from their high state of agriculture, becoming granaries to neighbouring nations, have abounded proportionably in wealth, population, the arts of peace and the magazines of war, as history shews to have been the case of *Ægypt*.

In new countries, in particular, and consequently at first but thinly inhabited, it becomes a primary object, to cultivate the earth, in preference to every other manual labour and pursuit. Wherever good lands abound, whatever can be raised from them, will be an article of worth. And whereas labour is dear from the scarcity of hands, the produce of the earth will yield greater emoluments to the husbandman, than any other species of labour. In this country especially, which is so extensive, and the number of settlers so small in proportion to the land they possess, agriculture will more abundantly supply our wants, than the manufacturing any kind of goods can do, whereof the chief value depends on the labour of many.

From the largest accounts we have, the number of inhabitants, in the united states of America, falls short of three millions; but the land, fit for tillage, pasturage and other purposes of rural life, is capable of furnishing above fifty millions of persons, without being over-crowded. Abounding with materials from the produce of the earth, the present generation can command a supply of the articles they require, in greater plenty, and of better quality, than it would be possible to manufacture ourselves. The necessaries of life are comparatively few. These are easily procured from our lands. But the articles of manufactures and commerce, which not only serve to supply our real wants, but contribute to our imaginary wants and luxury, are innumerable. In this our as yet infant state, we are therefore loudly called upon by our wants, by our interests, by the first law of nature, and good policy, to give our chief attention to agriculture: first, for the more immediate supply of our necessities, and secondly, to furnish us with the most effectual means of procuring, in the

way of barter and commerce, all those things, which we cannot expect or hope to obtain by our own labour.

Mechanic arts may be justly considered, as the off spring of that plenty, which agriculture begets; but they are generally slow in their progress at first, and take a long time, before they reach to any degree of eminence. It is sound policy then, and the true interest of this country, to encourage the natural disposition of the Americans to cultivate the ground, and draw from it the raw, but useful materials, of which it is so capable with little labour, and to supply the trans-atlantic nations of Europe, that depend upon their numbers, to manufacture for us whatever we stand in need of; which, from their skill and long experience, they can afford with greater ease and cheapness, than we can furnish ourselves.

To evince the truth of this assertion, let us reflect, with what success these states, when they were yet but colonies of Britain, pursued this plan of conduct, in adhering to their fisheries, and in clearing and cultivating the ground: thus furnishing the West Indies with lumber, iron, flour and other provisions; and Great Britain herself, and, through her, the countries subject to her dominion, and connected with her by treaties of friendship and commerce, with fish, naval stores, tobacco, pot-ash, rice, indigo, silk, hemp, flax-seed, and other materials for their different manufactures.

It requires no great extent of acquaintance with the products and exports of the different united states of America, to perceive, that our most certain and substantial riches flow from agriculture, hunting, fishing, exploring the earth, and furnishing those raw materials for commerce, which, in return, bring in the wealth and conveniences of other nations.

The plenty of codfish on the coasts of New England, as well as salmon, herring, and a variety and abundance of other species of fish, which employ a great number of their sea-faring people to catch, salt, barrel, and transport them to Portugal, Spain, Italy and the Levant, is to be considered as a rich mine, from which

they derive great wealth, with comparatively little labour. The business of ship-building, the cheapness of which depends upon the quantity and convenience of timber with which the country abounds, and the interest of the husbandman to clear his ground—is another great source of power and riches. By these means, and the making of pot-ash, from the trees, they burn to clear their lands, (which is a valuable article of export) together with their lumber and naval stores, they are enabled to supply foreigners with those articles, from which they acquire ample and valuable returns. Hence, too, they are furnished with active and healthy seamen, for manning their vessels, and for carrying on their commerce with different and distant parts of the world.

The middle states, viz. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, are, in general, fertile in their soil, and abound in all kinds of excellent grain. They also abound in mines of iron ore, from which pig and bar iron are made, and afford valuable articles of remittance to different countries, by furnishing materials for their casting and various mechanic arts. It is not my intention to enlarge upon trade, farther than to point out the raw materials, produced from agriculture and working of the earth, which may be employed to greater advantage by us, in our present state, as articles of commerce, than as mere objects of manufactures for ourselves.

I must here observe, that, where I have referred some particular products of the earth, to some states only, it is to be understood, that the same, or several of those articles, may likewise be the productions of others, or cultivated in them with advantage; although, for the sake of brevity, I have made no mention or repetition of them, as your superior knowledge of the subject will readily enable you to supply my omissions.

Tobacco has been justly considered as the great staple, and standing commodity, of Maryland and Virginia, which states are to the southward of Pennsylvania and Delaware: and it may be also raised in the three remaining states to the southward of Virginia, viz. the two Carolinas and Georgia. The tobacco, which was annu-

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ally shipped to Great Britain, before the revolution, fell little short of one hundred thousand hogheads; and the amount of the customs was above a million of pounds sterling. The three great staples of the Carolinas and Georgia, consisting of rice, indigo, and naval stores, were then computed at near half a million more. Besides which, Georgia has produced great quantities of raw silk, which, being exported to England, came into competition with, and indeed obtained the pre-eminence over, the finest silk of Piémont, for which half a million per annum had been paid. Georgia has been also engaged in making and exporting pot-ash, an article of great demand in bleaching, and in a variety of other trades and manufactures.

From this narrative it appears, of what amazing consequence it has been to North America, to confine her chief views to the improvement of her fisheries and agriculture; and to depend upon the exportation of those raw materials, which she has derived from the waters, the surface and bowels of the earth, to draw from the nations of Europe, and their dependencies, every article of commerce and manufacture, which she stood in need of, and which she could not obtain, by turning the labour of her inhabitants to manufactures and the mechanic arts. The employment of hunting, and a trade with the native Indians employed in hunting, has a connexion with this subject. Hence, we procure furs, and peltries of all sorts, which are exported, as raw materials for the manufactures of other countries, and prove a new source of wealth.

The riches not only of America, but of every other country, depend chiefly upon the product of their lands, and upon the quantity and value of the articles exported from it, above what are imported, which gives the balance of trade in favour of such country. Should we then attempt, by turning our thoughts unseasonably, and beyond what we are capable of executing with ease, to manufacture more than our necessities require, and export less of our produce, we should soon find the balance of trade against us, and ourselves greatly impoverished. Such would be the natural consequence of checking agriculture, from

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which our wealth immediately flows, and making it give way to mechanic arts, which cannot be carried on here with the same ease and advantage, as in older and more populous countries.

Let me repeat, that the principal articles of arts and commerce are the productions of agriculture, by means of which, after we have supplied our own demands, we are enabled to bring to us the manufactures, and productions of other countries, that we stand in need of. From a due attention to our agriculture, our fisheries and hunting, and the commerce we establish on them, the means of living become easy, early marriages are promoted, and population is increased—witness the coasts and fishing towns of New England, and the rapid encrease of the children of the industrious husbandmen. This is the consequence of the greater ease of rearing and maintaining large families. It also invites a greater number of foreigners to visit and settle in the country, who mix with us and become one people; the same in their interests, pursuits and manners.

Whenever a country is fully stocked with inhabitants, it is then in a situation to require and encourage manufactures, beyond what is practicable or prudent to attempt, in its early state. But I mean not, in denying a preference to the mechanic arts in our present circumstances, to exclude from a proper share of attention to this object, all such hands as can be well spared from agriculture and commerce, or such as may be necessary for cloathing, for building ships and houses, and for working up those materials, which can be manufactured, with more ease and profit to ourselves, than they can be imported. I even think, as grapes are the natural produce of our country, that planting vineyards, and making wines, at least for our own use and consumption, would be beneficial; and that, while the southern states give their attention to the raising of cotton, the more populous states to the northward might employ many hands and proper machines in carding, spinning and weaving it, which would be a great saving to the inhabitants of America.

I conclude, as a consequence of what I have advanced, that, whilst

older and more thickly inhabited countries are employed in manufactures, the Americans ought to lay themselves out to raise all sorts of commodities, to fit them for a market, and thus to furnish other nations with the materials, of which they stand in need for carrying on their established manufactures, and so derive greater advantages from trading with them, than it is possible by following the mechanic arts and manufacturing for ourselves, till we are more capable, from our numbers and wealth, of carrying on such undertakings.



Speech of William Pinckney, esq. of Hartford county, Maryland, in the assembly of that state, at their last session, when the report of a committee of the house, favourable to a petition for the relief of the oppressed slaves, was under consideration.

MR. SPEAKER,

BEFORE I proceed to deliver my sentiments, on the subject matter of the report, under consideration, I must entreat the members of this house to hear me with patience, and not to condemn what I may happen to advance, in support of the opinion I have formed, until they shall have heard me out. I am conscious, sir, that upon this occasion, I have long-established principles to combat, and deep-rooted prejudices to defeat; that I have fears and apprehensions to silence, which the acts of former legislatures have sanctioned, and that (what is equivalent to a host of difficulties) the popular impressions are against me: but, if I am honoured with the same indulgent attention, which the house has been pleased to afford me on past subjects of deliberation, I do not despair of surmounting all these obstacles, in the common cause of justice, humanity, and policy. The report appears to me to have two objects in view: to annihilate the existing restraints on the voluntary emancipation of slaves, and to relieve a particular offspring from the punishment, heretofore inflicted on them for the mere transgression of their parents. To the whole report, separately and collectively, my hearty assent, my cordial assistance, shall be given. It was the

policy of this country, sir, from an early period of colonization, down to the revolution, to encourage an importation of slaves, for purposes, which (if conjecture may be indulged) had been far better answered, without their assistance. That this inhuman policy was a disgrace to the colony, a dishonour to the legislature, and a scandal to human nature, we need not at this enlightened period labour to prove. The generous mind, that has adequate ideas of the inherent rights of mankind, and knows the value of them, must feel its indignation rise against the shameful traffic, that introduces slavery into a country, which seems to have been designed by providence, as an asylum for those whom the arm of power had persecuted, and not as a nursery for wretches, stripped of every privilege which heaven intended for its rational creatures, and reduced to a level with—may become themselves—the mere goods and chattels of their masters.

Sir, by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the slave has a right to hold his slave in bondage for a single hour; but the law of the land—which (however oppressive and unjust, however inconsistent with the great ground-work of the late revolution, and our present frame of government) we cannot, in prudence, or from a regard to individual rights, abolish—has authorized a slavery, as bad, or perhaps worse than, the most absolute, unconditional servitude, that ever England knew, in the early ages of its empire, under the tyrannical policy of the Danes, the feudal tenures of the Saxons, or the pure villanage of the Normans. But, Mr. Speaker, because a respect for the peace and safety of the community, and the already injured rights of individuals, forbids a compulsory liberation of these unfortunate creatures, shall we unnecessarily refine upon this gloomy system of bondage, and prevent the owner of a slave from manumitting him, at the only probable period, when the warm feelings of benevolence, and the gentle workings of commiseration dispose him to the generous deed?—Sir, the natural character of Maryland is sufficiently sullied, and dishonoured, by barely tolerating slavery: but when it is found,

that your laws give every possible encouragement to its continuance to the latest generations, and are ingenious to prevent even its slow and gradual decline, how is the die of the imputation deepened?—It may even be thought, that our late glorious struggle for liberty, did not originate in principle, but took its rise from popular caprice, the rage of faction, or the intemperance of party. Let it be remembered, Mr. Speaker, that, even in the days of feudal barbarity—when the minds of men were unexpanded by that liberality of sentiment, which springs from civilization and refinement—such was the antipathy, in England, against private bondage, that, so far from being studious to stop the progress of emancipation, the courts of law (aided by legislative connivance) were inventive to liberate, by construction. If, for example, a man brought an action against his villain, it was presumed, that he designed to manumit him; and, although perhaps this presumption was, in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred, contrary to the fact, yet, upon this ground alone, were bondmen adjudged to be free.

Sir.—I sincerely wish, it were in my power, to impart my feelings, upon this subject, to those who hear me—they would then acknowledge, that, while the owner was protected in the property of his slave, he might at the same time be allowed to relinquish that property to the unhappy subject, whenever he should be so inclined. They would then feel, that denying this privilege was repugnant to every principle of humanity—an everlasting stigma on our government—an act of unequalled barbarity—without a colour of policy, or a pretext of necessity, to justify it.

Sir, let gentlemen put it home to themselves, that after providence has crowned our exertions, in the cause of general freedom, with success, and led us on to independence through a myriad of dangers, and in defiance of obstacles crowding thick upon each other, we should not so soon forget the principles upon which we fled to arms, and lose all sense of that interposition of heaven, by which alone we could have been saved from the grasp of arbitrary power. We may

talk of liberty in our public councils ; and fancy, that we feel a reverence for her dictates—we may declaim, with all the vehemence of animated rhetoric, against oppression, and flatter ourselves, that we detect the ugly monster—but so long as we continue to cherish the poisonous weed of partial slavery among us, the world will doubt our sincerity. In the name of heaven, with what face can we call ourselves the friends of equal freedom and the inherent rights of our species, when we wantonly pass laws inimical to each—when we reject every opportunity of destroying, by silent, imperceptible degrees, the horrid fabric of individual bondage, reared by the mercenary hands of those, from whom the sacred flame of liberty received no devotion ?

Sir, it is pitiable to reflect, to what wild inconsistencies, to what opposite extremes we are hurried, by the frailty of our nature. Long have I been convinced, that no generous sentiment of which the human heart is capable, no elevated passion of the soul that dignifies mankind, can obtain an uniform and perfect dominion—to day we may be aroused as one man, by a wonderful and unaccountable sympathy, against the lawless invader of the rights of his fellow-creatures : to-morrow we may be guilty of the same oppression, which we reprobated and retitled in another. Is it, Mr. Speaker, because the complexion of these devoted victims is not quite so delicate as ours—is it, because their untutored minds (humbled and debased by the hereditary yoke) appear less active and capacious than our own—or, is it, because we have been so habituated to their situation, as to become callous to the horrors of it—that we are determined, whether politic or not, to keep them, till time shall be no more, on a level with the brutes ? For “nothing” says Montelquieu, “so much assimilates a man to a brute, as living among freemen, himself a slave.”

Call not Maryland a land of liberty—do not pretend, that she has chosen this country as an asylum—that here she has erected her temple, and consecrated her shrine—when here also her unhallowed enemy holds his heliostich pandæmonium, and our rulers of-

fer sacrifice at his polluted altars. The lily and the bramble may grow in social proximity—but liberty and slavery delight in separation.

Sir ! let us figure to ourselves, for a moment, one of these unhappy victims, more informed than the rest, pleading, at the bar of this house, the cause of himself and his fellow-sufferers—what would be the language of this orator of nature ?—Thus, my imagination tells me, he would address us.

“We belong, by the policy of the country, to our masters ; and submit to our rigorous destiny—we do not ask you to divest them of their property ; because we are conscious you have not the power—we do not intreat you to compel an emancipation of us or our posterity, because justice to your fellow-citizens forbids it—we only supplicate you, not to arrest the gentle arm of humanity, when it may be stretched forth in our behalf—not to wage hostilities against that moral or religious conviction, which may at any time incline our masters to give freedom to us, or our unoffending offspring—not to interpose legislative obstacles to the course of voluntary manumission.—Thus shall you neither violate the rights of your people, nor endanger the quiet of the community, while you vindicate your public councils from the imputation of cruelty, and the stigma of causeless, unprovoked oppression.—We have never (would he argue) rebelled against our masters.—We have never thrown your government into a ferment, by struggles to regain the independence of our fathers.—We have yielded our necks submissive to the yoke, and, without a murmur, acquiesced in the privation of our native rights. We conjure you then, in the name of the common parent of mankind—reward us not, for this long and patient acquiescence, by shutting up the main avenues to our liberation,—by withholding from us the poor privilege of benefiting by the kind indulgence, the generous intentions of our superiors.”

What could we answer to arguments like these ?—Silent and peremptory, we might reject the application—but no words could justify the deed.

In vain should we resort to apologies, grounded on the fallacious suggestions of a cautious and timid poli-

cy. I would as soon believe the incoherent tale of a school boy, who should tell me, he had been frightened by a ghost, as that the grant of this permission ought in any degree to alarm us. Are we apprehensive, that these men will become more dangerous, by becoming freemen? Are we alarmed, lest, by being admitted to the enjoyment of civil rights, they will be inspired with a deadly enmity against the rights of others? Strange, unaccountable paradox! How much more rational would it be, to argue, that the natural enemy of the privileges of a freeman, is he, who is robbed of them himself! In him the foul dæmon of jealousy converts the sense of his own debasement, into a rancorous hatred for the more auspicious fate of others—while from him, whom you have raised from the degrading situation of a slave,—whom you have restored to that rank, in the order of the universe, which the malignity of his fortune prevented him from attaining before,—from such a man (unless his soul be ten thousand times blacker than his complexion) you may reasonably hope for all the happy effects of the warmest gratitude and love.

Sir, let us not limit our views to the short period of a life in being; let us extend them along the continuous line of endless generations yet to come—How will the millions, that now teem in the womb of futurity, and whom your present laws would doom to the curse of perpetual bondage, feel the inspiration of gratitude, to those, whose sacred love of liberty shall have opened the door, to their admission within the pale of freedom? Dishonorable to the species is the idea, that they would ever prove injurious to our interests—released from the shackles of slavery, by the justice of government and the bounty of individuals—the want of fidelity and attachment, would be next to impossible.

Sir, when we talk of policy, it would be well for us to reflect, whether pride is not at the bottom of it; whether we do not feel our vanity and self-consequence wounded at the idea of a dusky African participating equally with ourselves, in the rights of human nature, and rising to a level with us, from the lowest point of degradation.

Prejudices of this kind, sir, are often so powerful, as to persuade us, that whatever countervails them, is the extremity of folly, and that the peculiar path of wisdom, is that which leads to their gratification—but it is for us, to be superior to the influence of such ungenerous motives; it is for us, to reflect, that whatever the complexion, however ignoble the ancestry, or uncultivated the mind, one universal father gave being to them and us; and, with that being, conferred the unalienable rights of the species. But I have heard it argued, that if you permit a master to manumit his slaves by his last will and testament, as soon as they discover he has done so, they will destroy him, to prevent a revocation—never was a weaker defence attempted, to justify the severity of persecution—never did a bigoted inquisition condemn an heretic to torture and to death, upon grounds less adequate to justify the horrid sentence.

Sir, is it not obvious, that the argument applies equally against all devices whatsoever, for any person's benefit. For, if an advantageous bequest is made, even to a white man, has he not the same temptation, to cut short the life of his benefactor, to secure and accelerate the enjoyment of the benefit?

As the universality of this argument renders it completely nugatory, so is its cruelty palpable, by its being more applicable to other instances, to which it has never been applied at all, than to the case under consideration.



Letter on slavery. By a negro.

I AM one of that unfortunate race of men, who are distinguished from the rest of the human species, by a black skin and woolly hair—disadvantages of very little moment in themselves, but which prove to us a source of the greatest misery, because there are men, who will not be persuaded, that it is possible for a human soul to be lodged within a fable body. The West Indian planters could not, if they thought us men, so wantonly spill our blood; nor could the natives of this land of liberty, deeming us of the same species with themselves, submit to be instrumental in enslaving

us, or think us proper subjects of a sordid commerce. Yet, strong as the prejudices against us are, it will not, I hope, on this side of the Atlantic, be considered as a crime, for a poor african not to confess himself a being of an inferior order to those, who happen to be of a different colour from himself; or be thought very presumptuous, in one who is but a negro, to offer to the happy subjects of this free government, some reflexions upon the wretched condition of his countrymen. They will not, I trust, think worse of my brethren, for being discontented with so hard a lot as that of slavery; nor disown me for their fellow creature, merely because I deeply feel the unmerited sufferings, which my countrymen endure.

It is neither the vanity of being an author, nor a sudden and capricious gust of humanity, which has prompted the present design. It has been long conceived, and long been the principal subject of my thoughts. Ever since an indulgent master rewarded my youthful services with freedom, and supplied me at a very early age with the means of acquiring knowledge, I have laboured to understand the true principles, on which the liberties of mankind are founded, and to possess myself of the language of this country, in order to plead the cause of those who were once my fellow slaves, and if possible to make my freedom, in some degree, the instrument of their deliverance.

The first thing then, which seems necessary, in order to remove those prejudices, which are so unjustly entertained against us, is to prove that we are men—a truth which is difficult to prove, only because it is difficult to imagine, by what arguments it can be combated. Can it be contended, that a difference of colour alone can constitute a difference of species?—if not, in what single circumstance are we different from the rest of mankind? what variety is there in our organization? what inferiority of art in the fashioning of our bodies? what imperfection in the faculties of our minds?—Has not a negro eyes? has not a negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed with the same food; hurt with the same weapons; subject to the same diseases;

healed by the same means; warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as a white man is? if you prick us, do we not bleed? if you poison us, do we not die? are we not exposed to all the same wants? do we not feel all the same sentiments—are we not capable of all the same exertions—and are we not entitled to all the same rights, as other men?

Yes—and it is said we are men, it is true; but that we are men, addicted to more and worse vices, than those of any other complexion; and such is the innate perverseness of our minds, that nature seems to have marked us out for slavery.—Such is the apology, perpetually made for our masters, and the justification offered for that universal proscription, under which we labour.

But I supplicate our enemies, to be, though for the first time, just in their proceedings towards us; and to establish the fact, before they attempt to draw any conclusion from it. Nor let them imagine, that this can be done, by merely asserting, that such is our universal character. It is the character, I grant, that our inhuman masters have agreed to give us, and which they have too industriously and too successfully propagated, in order to palliate their own guilt, by blackening the helpless victims of it, and to disguise their own cruelty under the semblance of justice. Let the natural depravity of our character be proved—not by appealing to declamatory invectives, and interested representations, but by shewing, that a greater proportion of crimes have been committed by the wronged slaves of the plantations, than by the luxurious inhabitants of Europe, who are happily strangers to those aggravated provocations, by which our passions are every day irritated and incensed. Shew us, that, of the multitude of negroes, who have, within a few years, transported themselves to this country*, and who are abandoned to themselves; who are corrupted by example, prompted by penury, and infli-

NOTE.

* This letter was originally published in England, where the number of negroes is considerably increased, since the late war in America.

gated, by the memory of their wrongs, to the commission of every crime—*threw us, I say, (and the demonstration, if it be possible, cannot be difficult) that a greater proportion of these, than of white men, have fallen under the animadversion of justice, and have been sacrificed to your laws. Though avarice may slander and insult our misery, and though poets heighten the horror of their fables, by representing us as monsters of vice—the fact is, that, if treated like other men, and admitted to a participation of their rights, we should differ from them in nothing, perhaps, but in our possessing stronger passions, nicer sensibility, and more enthusiastic virtue.*

Before so harsh a decision was pronounced upon our nature, we might have expected—if sad experience had not taught us, to expect nothing but injustice from our adversaries—that some pains would have been taken, to ascertain, what our nature is; and that we should have been considered, as we are found in our native woods, and not as we now are—altered and perverted by an inhuman political institution. But, instead of this, we are examined, not by philosophers, but by interrelled traders: not as nature formed us, but as man has depraved us—and from such an enquiry, prosecuted under such circumstances, the perverseness of our dispositions is said to be established. Cruel that you are! you make us slaves; you implant in our minds all the vices, which are, in some degree, inseparable from that condition; and you then impiously impute to nature, and to God, the origin of those vices, to which you alone have given birth; and punish in us the crimes, of which you are yourselves the authors.

The condition of slavery is in nothing more deplorable, than in its being so unfavourable to the practice of every virtue. The surest foundation of virtue, is the love of our fellow-creatures; and that affection takes its birth, in the social relations of men to one another. But to a slave these are all denied. He never pays or receives the grateful duties of a son—he never knows or experiences the fond solicitude of a father—the tender names of husband, of brother, and of friend,

are to him unknown. He has no country to defend and bleed for—he can relieve no sufferings—for he looks around in vain, to find a being more wretched than himself. He can indulge no generous sentiment—for, he sees himself every hour treated with contempt and ridicule, and distinguished from irrational brutes, by nothing, but the severity of punishment. Would it be surprising, if a slave, labouring under all these disadvantages—oppressed, insulted, scorned, and trampled on—should come at last to despise himself—to believe the calumnies of his oppressors—and to persuade himself, that it would be against his nature, to cherish any honourable sentiment, or to attempt any virtuous action? Before you boast of your superiority over us, place some of your own colour (if you have the heart to do it) in the same situation with us; and see, whether they have such innate virtue, and such unconquerable vigour of mind, as to be capable of surmounting such multiplied difficulties, and of keeping their minds free from the infection of every vice, even under the oppressive yoke of such a servitude.

But, not satisfied with denying us that indulgence, to which the misery of our condition gives us so just a claim, our enemies have laid down other and stricter rules of morality, to judge our actions by, than those by which the conduct of all other men is tried. Habits, which in all human beings, except ourselves, are thought innocent, are, in us, deemed criminal—and actions, which are even laudable in white men, become enormous crimes in negroes. In proportion to our weakness, the strictness of censure is increased upon us; and as resources are withheld from us, our duties are multiplied. The terror of punishment is perpetually before our eyes; but we know not, how to avert it, what rules to act by, or what guides to follow. We have written laws, indeed, composed in a language we do not understand, and never promulgated; but what avail written laws, when the supreme law, with us, is the capricious will of our overseers? To obey the dictates of our own hearts, and to yield to the strong propensities of nature, is often to incur severe punish-

ment; and by emulating examples, which we find applauded and revered among Europeans, we risk inflaming the wildest wrath of our inhuman tyrants.

To judge of the truth of these assertions, consult even those milder and subordinate rules for our conduct, the various codes of your West India laws—those laws, which allow us to be men, whenever they consider us as victims of their vengeance, but treat us only like a species of living property, as often as we are to be the objects of their protection—those laws, by which (it may be truly said) that we are bound to suffer, and be miserable, under pain of death. To resent an injury, received from a white man, though of the lowest rank, and to dare to strike him, though upon the strongest and grossest provocation, is an enormous crime. To attempt an escape from the cruelties exercised over us, by flight, is punished with mutilation, and sometimes with death. To take arms against masters, whose cruelty no submission can mitigate, no patience exhaust, and from whom no other means of deliverance are left, is the most atrocious of all crimes; and is punished by a gradual death, lengthened out by torments, so exquisite, that none, but those who have been long familiarized, with West Indian barbarity, can bear the bare recital of them without horror. And yet I learn from writers, whom the Europeans hold in the highest esteem, that treason is a crime, which cannot be committed by a slave against his master; that a slave stands in no civil relation towards his master, and owes him no allegiance; that master and slave are in a state of war; and if the slave take up arms for his deliverance, he acts not only justifiably, but in obedience to a natural duty, the duty of self-preservation. I read in authors, whom I find venerated by our oppressors, that to deliver one's self and one's countrymen from tyranny, is an act of the sublimest heroism. I hear Europeans exalted, as the martyrs of public liberty, the saviours of their country, and the deliverers of mankind—I see their memories honoured with statues, and their names immortalized in poetry—and yet when a generous negro is animated by the

same passion, which ennobled them—when he feels the wrongs of his countrymen as deeply, and attempts to revenge them as boldly—I see him treated by those same Europeans, as the most execrable of mankind, and led out, amidst curses and insults, to undergo a painful, gradual, and ignominious death*; and thus the same Briton, who applauds his own ancestors, for attempting to throw off the easy yoke, imposed on them by the Romans, punishes us, as detested parricides, for seeking to get free from the cruellest of all tyrannies, and yielding to the irresistible eloquence of an African Gaius or Boadicea.

Are then the reason and the morality, for which Europeans so highly value themselves, of a nature so variable and fluctuating, as to change with the complexion of those, to whom they are applied?—Do the rights of nature cease to be such, when a negro is to enjoy them?—Or does patriotism, in the heart of an African, rankle into treason?

A free negro.



The farmer and his thirteen sons, an allegory.

NOT long ago, a certain farmer settled on a new piece of land, which he was in hopes, by his industry and the assistance of his healthy boys, to be able to cultivate to advantage. Unfortunately he was of a morose, tyrannical and selfish disposition; and often irritated his boys, by his austerities; and as they grew older, he used them more like slaves, than children. They being hardy, resolute, and not easily reconciled to rigorous government, and finding that their reputed father was not their natural parent, but only a step-father; and also that he had not so good a title to the farm, as they would have when they came of age, determined with one consent, that, if he persisted in his tyrannical conduct, they would attempt to eject him, and set up for themselves. Accordingly, on a certain day, when the choleric old gen-

NOTE.

* For a remarkable instance of this species of barbarous cruelty—see vol. 1. of this work, page 210.

tleman had begun to enforce his unreasonable commands with a cudgel, they manfully returned his blows. After an obstinate struggle, he was forced to retreat; and with a broken pate, and sore sides, he betook himself, muttering and resentful, to his paternal estate, on the other side of the water. The lads, being thirteen in number, and of a sanguine, vigorous and enterprising turn, concluded they could easily manage their joint interest, so as very soon to make their fortunes. They had sense enough to know, that, as their united efforts had ejected their father-in-law, so their united affections and efforts would be necessary, for their future establishment and prosperity. They had only a small spot cultivated on their new farm, upon which they had a crop of wheat: of this they had selected, for seed, a choice sheaf a-piece, larger or smaller, in proportion to the age, ability and industry of each brother; and as they had no shelter for the preservation of their grain, it was judged necessary, that all their sheaves should be compacted together into one shock. But the difficulty was, how to compact them, so as that the whole should be secure from injury and depredation. At length, with joint contrivance and industry, they formed, with straw and other materials, a kind of covering, which they placed over their sheaves, to keep them together, and to screen them from storms and from birds of prey. But it was soon found to be inadequate to the purpose. So weak and loose was it in its texture, that it could neither shelter the sheaves from the weather, nor keep them from falling apart. Nay, it evidently sunk down, so that most of the sheaves stuck out above it; and by unnatural pressure against one another, they began to be intertangled, to lose their fine shape and proportion, and threatened the bursting their bands, and becoming like a heap of threshed straw. The brothers were soon convinced, that something more effectual must be done, or all their past labour, and fine prospects of future crops, would be lost; and their grain, appearing like a neglected, broken shock, and free plunder for all, would be pillaged, not only by birds and beasts

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of prey, but by rapacious farmers around them. But, though the case appeared urgent, it was difficult to find out, or to agree among themselves, what was best to be done. There was a growing uneasiness and anxiety; and, especially as blackbirds and vermin had begun to make disorder and waste in many of the sheaves,—some thought it was best, that each one should take care of his own bundle separately—some, through want of spirit and fraternal affection and generosity, seemed not to care, whether any thing was done for mutual advantage—and some were so abject and base, as to wish to go back again to their step-father, and ask his pardon, with a promise to submit to all his orders and impositions for the future, if he would take their bundles into his custody. But the most of them having cherished their original independent and generous spirit, and being fully persuaded, that they had wit and ability enough among themselves, if they would but jointly exert it, to preserve their own sheaves, without meanly suing to others for assistance, manfully determined to lay their heads and their hands together, and shew what they could do. Accordingly, the brethren all except one or two, entered into close consultation, to strike out some plan, for the joint security of their precious grain. The youngest boy, indeed, having been neglected in his education, and accustomed to low company, was ignorant, obstinate, and knavish; and ungenerously refused to join with his brother, in any well judged, interesting expedient. But this discouraged not the rest.

The most active, and penetrating among them, at length devised the following scheme, as the most likely to answer the intended purpose, viz. That a handful of the tallest, strongest, and straightest of the straws, should be culled out of each bundle—the bigness of the handfuls to be determined by the bigness of their respective bundles—and that these handfuls, so selected, should, by proper interwoven threads and constricting bands, be ingeniously formed into a cap-sheaf, to unite and cover the whole. Every one saw that this, if faithfully

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executed, was a judicious expedient; that thirteen sheaves, well bound, and set close and upright, under such a cap-sheaf, would help to support each other; and would remain safe and well shaped, uninjured by storms, and undiminished by birds of prey; and, moreover, would comprise and convey the ideas of unity, security and comely proportion. And that no apprehensions, jealousies, or dissensions might be entertained amongst the brothers, it was provided, that each one should have the culling of his own bundle, for the forming and repairing the cap sheaf, and might aid, with his own ingenuity, in the construction of it. But, though common sense could not but acknowledge the justice and propriety of this measure; and also, that it was much better to spare a handful of grain, for the preservation of the rest, than to risk the loss of the whole, for want of such a sheaf, yet some were fearful, and others were obstinate. Some pretended they had as good run the venture of losing all at once, as to have all the best of it picked away by little and little. Some feared, that the cap sheaf would be made too heavy, as to crush their sheaves flat to the ground. Others pretended, that the cap-sheaf, being composed of the tallest and strongest of the straws, might be made so stiff and tight, as to compress and pinch the heads of their sheaves too close; or at least, might enclose them so effectually, as to prevent their inspecting and handling them, or taking them out, whenever they should think fit. In short, notwithstanding the union of interest, honour and safety, that demanded the united sentiments, exertions and affections of these thirteen brethren, divers of them objected to the proposed measure. So that those who had the most extended views, and felt the warmest emotions of brotherly kindness, as well as of self-love, dreaded the consequences of disunion. The subject had been so long in debate, and was so interesting to this rising family, that it engaged the attention of older farmers, though at a distance. Those among them, who had a sense of honour and humanity, were grieved at the dissensions of these brethren: and wished

they might have wisdom to coalesce, and preserve their precious seed, upon which all their hopes of a succession of increasing harvests depended. Others, that were selfish and unfriendly, endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between these brothers, in hopes they would be obliged to separate one from another, and become tenants upon their farms, or servants in their families. And particularly their old step-father listened, with malignant pleasure, to every account, that was brought him, of their quarrels and dangers; and hoped soon to see the time, when he should get these rebellious Jacks into his hands again, when he would keep their noses effectually to the grindstone, and make them repent of their audacity in resisting his authority. In fine, the most sanguine hopes, that the most benevolent of these brothers, or of their friends, dared to entertain, were, that nine of them would pretty soon be induced to secure their sheaves in the method proposed, and that the rest would see cause after a while, to follow their example; except the youngest; and he, they expected, would become a vagabond and a highway-robber, and soon be brought to an inglorious end; and that if there remained any scattered straws of his sheaf, worth picking up, they would be collected, and tucked into some of the other bundles.



Striking instance of the shocking effects of fanaticism, in the account of a tragical event, which happened in South Carolina, in 1724.

THE family of Dutarrres, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They lived in Orange quarter, and though in low circumstances, always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed, by their neighbours, persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But, at the period above mentioned, a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to their neighbourhood, insinuated himself into the family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behmen, which he put into

their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, these strange notions gained ground on them, in so much that, in one year, they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine that they were the only family upon earth, who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length, it came to open visions and revelations: God raised up a prophet among them, "*like unto Moses*;" to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family, when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that he was determined again, as in the days of Noah, to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family, whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body; and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying: "put away the woman thou hast for thy wife; and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before; and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin: so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it."

At first, the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven: but the prophet assured him, that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened. Upon this, the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and immediately gave her to the wife prophet, who, without further ceremony, took the damsel, and deflowered her. Thus, for some time, they

continued in acts of adultery and incest, until that period, which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness. These deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and to all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence, that God had commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants, for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time, Judith Dutarré, the wife whom the prophet had obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued, for bringing her before the justice, to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being apprehensive of meeting no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observed the constable coming; and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them, that God commanded them to arm, and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time, that no weapon formed against them, should prosper. Accordingly they obeyed their prophet, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation.

Such behaviour was not to be tolerated; wherefore captain Simmons gathered a party of the militia, and went to protect the constable, in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of the party. The militia returned the fire,

killed one woman within the house ; and afterwards forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charleston.

At the court of general sessions, held in September, 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned—they pretended they had the spirit of God, leading them to all truth ; they knew it and felt it : but this spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them (forsooth) to commit rebellion, incest and murder.

What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it, to their latest breath. During their trial, they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court, in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance ; and very readily confessed the facts, respecting the rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged ; but pleaded their authority from God, in vindication of themselves, and insisted, that they had done nothing in either case, but by his express command.

As it is customary with clergymen, to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and to prepare them for death, by bringing them to a penitent disposition ; the rev. Alexander Garden, the episcopal minister of Charleston, by whom this account is handed down to us, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they, in like manner, repeated and confessed to him, in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and explain the heinous nature of their crime, they treated him with disdain. Their constant phrase was : “ answer him not a word : who is he, that he should presume to teach them, who had the spirit of God, speaking inwardly to their souls ? ”—in all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of

God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day.

These things the three men continued confidently to believe ; and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief, until the moment they expired. At their execution, they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain, they should rise from the dead on the third day.

With respect to the other three—the daughter Judih, being with child, was not tried ; and the two sons, David and John Dutarte, about eighteen and twenty one years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued fullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed, rise from the dead : but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Not long afterwards, however, one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel ; and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder, and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again, under the second sentence, and with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or die a more sincere penitent for his horrid crimes. With great attention, he listened to mr. Garden ; while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation, proposed in the gospel ; and seemed to die, in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

Thus ended that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives ; one being killed, two murdered, and four executed for the murders.—A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals !

A N O D E,

Most respectfully inscribed to his excellency, general Washington, on being chosen president of the united states.

I.

WHERE fair Columbia spreads her wide domain
O'er many a lengthen'd hill and sylvan plain,
In mystic vision wrapt, far to the south,
Array'd in all the bloom of rosy youth,
A cherub form arose.
O'er the blue heav'n's her snowy pinions spread,
Celestial tints illum'd her starry head.
Bright as the radiant God of day,
Soft as the fleecy cloud, or milky-way,
Her shining vestment flows.
Her hand sustains the trump of fame;
Its blasts aloud her will proclaim.—
As high in air she hung,
O'er where Mount Vernon's odours breathe,
She dropt immortal glory's wreath,
Then, northward soaring, sung—
The music of the spheres resounding to her tongue :

II.

“Heav'n-born freedom, sent to save,
“By actions, glorious as brave,
“With every Godlike virtue fraught,
“Which either peace or war has taught,
“Behold your hero come!—
“Call'd by his country's urgent voice,
“O'er her high councils to preside;
“By ev'ry breast's united choice,
“Call'd, the storm-beat helm to guide,
“He leaves his rural dome.
“On all his steps see smiling concord wait,
“And harmony pervade each happy state—
“See public confidence her arms expand,
“While glad'ning gratulations echo o'er the land.

III.

“With soul at unambitious rest,
“Yet glowing for the public weal;
“Still must Columbia's dear bequest
“O'er philosophic ease prevail.
“To hold with steady hand,
“A free, a just, restricting rein,
“Wild, jarring discord to restrain;
“As government's revolving car,
“Through placid peace, or horrid war,
“Obeys his mild command.
“Thine be the bliss, great son of Fame!
“(As still hath been thy only aim)
“To bid strict justice poise her equal scale—
“Reviving commerce spread the swelling sail,
“With golden prospects fraught from ev'ry gale.

IV.

“Those laurel trophies, won through seas of blood,
“Unequall'd in historic fame,
“Those priceless labours for the public good,
“Had well immortaliz'd thy name,

" And claim'd a world's applause.
 " Now all the honours of the field,
 " All splendid conquest e'er could yield,
 " Combine with universal praise,
 " On high thy matchless worth to raise,
 " The guardian of our laws.
 " Not rear'd by tumult in a giddy hour,
 " The crested idol of despotic pow'r ;
 " But sacred Freedom's delegated voice,
 " Thy grateful country's uncorrupted choice.

V.

" No Alexander's mad career,
 " No Cæsar's dictatorial reign,
 " No daz'ling pomp that sceptres wear,
 " Thy soul with thirst of pow'r could stain.
 " A greater honour's thine—
 " Approving millions place in you,
 " That pow'r, they would reflective view—
 " Diffusing all that's good and great
 " Through each department of the state,
 " Thy bright'ning virtues shine,
 " With more effulgence round thy head,
 " With more essential honours spread,
 " Than sparkling toys that gild the tyrant's brow ;
 " Worn but to court his cringing slaves to bow.

VI.

" As yon bright spheres, that circling run
 " With lucid splendor round the sun,
 " Diffuse their borrow'd blaze ;
 " So may that senatorial band,
 " Assembled by a virtuous land,
 " (As on thy worth they gaze)
 " Reflect the light thy virtues yield,
 " The sword of justice bid thee wield,
 " And anarchy erase.
 " The fed'ral union closer bind ;
 " Firm public faith restore ;
 " Drive discord from the canker'd mind ;
 " Each mutual blessing pour.—
 " Then, when the glorious course is run,
 " Which heav'n assign'd her Washington,
 " His soul let cherub choirs convey
 " To all the triumphs of eternal day."

Bladenburgh, April 16, 1789. SAMUEL KNOX.



An epitaph—intended for the monument of major general Greene. By William Pierce, esq. of Savannah.

LIKE other things, this marble must decay,
 The cypher'd characters shall fade away,
 And nought but ruin mark this sacred spot,
 Where Greene's interr'd,—perhaps the place forgot,
 But time, unmeasur'd, shall preserve his name,
 Through distant ages shall roll on his fame,
 And, in the heart of ev'ry good man, raise
 A lasting monument of matchless praise.

Happiness to be found in our own minds.

THE midnight moon serenely
 In les
 O'er nature's soft repose :
 No louring cloud obscures the sky
 No rustling tempest blows.

Now ev'ry passion sinks to rest,
 The throbbing heart lies still,
 And varying schemes of life no more
 Distract the lab'ring will.

In silence hush'd, to reason's voice
 Attends each mental pow'r.
 Come, dear Emilia, and enjoy
 Reflexion's fav'rite hour.

Come, while the peaceful scene in-
 vites,
 Let's search this ample round :
 Where shall the lovely, fleeting form
 Of happiness be found ?

Does it amidst the frolic mirth
 Of gay assemblies dwell ;
 Or hide beneath the solemn gloom,
 That shades the hermit's cell ?

How oft the laughing brow of joy
 A sick'ning heart conceals,
 And through the cloister's deep recess
 Invading sorrow steals !

In vain, thro' beauty, fortune, wit,
 The fugitive we trace ;
 It dwells not in the faithless smile,
 That brightens Clodio's face.

Perhaps the joy, to these deny'd
 The heart in friendship finds !
 Ah dear delusion, gay conceit
 Of visionary minds !

How'er our varying notions rove,
 Yet all agree in one,
 To place its being in some state
 At distance from our own.

O blind to each indulgent aim
 Of pow'r supremely wise,
 Who fancy happiness in aught
 The hand of heav'n denies !

Vain are alike the joys we seek,
 And those that we possess,
 Unless harmonious reason tunes
 The passions into peace.

To temp'rate wishes, just desires
 Is happiness confin'd :
 And, deaf to folly's call, attends
 The music of the mind.

The wedding-ring.

LITTLE, but too pow'rful tie,
 Bane of female liberty ;
 Alternative of joy and pain,
 In thy slender round remain ;
 Now, we bless the pleasing yoke ;
 Now, we wish the bond were broke.
 Virgins sigh to wear the chain ;
 Wives would fain be free again ;
 We're ador'd, when thou'rt receiv'd :
 Ever after, we're enslav'd.

On liberty.

CURST be the wretch, that's
 bought and sold,
 And barter liberty for gold !
 For when elections are not free,
 In vain we boast our liberty.
 And he who sells his single right,
 Would sell his country, if he might.
 When liberty is put to sale,
 For wine, for money, or for ale,
 The sellers must be abject slaves,
 The buyers vile designing knaves.
 This maxim, in the statesman's school,
 Is always taught "divide and rule."—
 All parties are to him a joke ;
 While zealots foam, he fits the yoke :
 When men their reason once resume,
 He in his turn begins to fume.
 Hence, learn, Columbians, to unite :
 Leave off the old, exploded bite.
 Henceforth let feuds and discords cease,
 And turn all party rage to peace.

A modest request.

HEAV'N indulge me this request,
 What will make a mortal blest.
 Give me first an honest soul
 Subject to no base controul,
 To no sordid vice a slave,
 But to deeds of virtue brave.
 So much learning, as to rise
 'Bove a pedant vainly wise ;
 So much wisdom, as to see
 What I am and ought to be ;
 And discern the good from ill,
 That my circle I may fill :
 So much courage, as to choose
 What is right—the wrong refuse ;
 So much honour, to disdain
 Thoughts and actions, that are mean ;
 Health, my powers to employ,
 And my portion well enjoy.

Grant me next a virtuous wife,
 Sweet companion of my life,
 In my joys to take a share,
 Partner too in ev'ry care ;

Both from pride and meanness free ;
 Cheerful to my friend and me ;
 Pure in manners, and discreet ;
 In her dress and person neat ;
 One, who, innocently gay,
 Can my vapours charm away ;
 Ever studious how to please ;
 Not perversely apt to tease ;
 In her temper calm and meek ;
 Who can hear, as well as speak ;
 To my humour always kind ;
 To my foibles seeming blind ;
 Yet, with artful hints of love,
 Wipe my follies to reprove,
 In my pains to give relief
 And to flatter off my grief.
 Babes, that prattle round and smile,
 Shall the heavy hours beguile,
 Blooming like the vernal flow'rs,
 Rip'ning into manly pow'rs ;
 Into virtue rip'ning too,
 As to manly age they they grow.
 Let me ask a handsome plat,
 Not too small, nor very great,
 Water'd with meand'ring streams,
 Blest with Phœbus' rising beams.
 Let there be a shady grove,
 Where the muse and I may rove.
 Here devotion too shall come ;
 For the muse will give her room.
 I would have a verdant mead,
 Where a cow or two may feed,
 And a little rising ground,
 Where my flocks may sport around ;
 An inclosure for my trees ;
 Here variety will please ;
 And a garden set with flow'rs,
 To amuse my vacant hours,
 Fill'd with various kinds of fruit
 That my health or taste may suit ;
 A well cultivated field,
 Which a competence shall yield,
 Not to fill a miser's hoard,
 But to feed my little board,
 Entertain a friend or so,
 And something on the poor bestow.
 Give me, too, a pretty seat,
 Not superb, but simply neat,
 There to lead a harmless life,
 Free from envy and from strife,
 'Till I close this mortal scene,
 And a better life begin.—
 Grant me but these, no other prize
 I ask or wish beneath the skies.



A morning ode.

ARISE, and see the glorious sun
 Mount in the eastern sky ;
 See, with that majesty he comes ;
 What splendour strikes the eye !

Life, light, and heat he spreads abroad
 In ever bounteous streams
 This day shall joyful myriads own
 The influence of his beams.
 How fresh, how sweet the morning air,
 What fragrance breathes around !
 New lustre paints each op'ning flow'r :
 New verdure clothes the ground.
 No rustling storms of wind or rain,
 Disturb the calm serene ;
 But gentle nature far abroad
 Displays her softest scene.
 Through checquer'd groves and o'er
 the plain,
 Refreshing breezes pass,
 And play with ev'ry wanton leaf,
 And wave the slender grass.
 See yonder silver-gliding stream
 In wild meanders rove,
 Whilst from its banks, the songsters
 sweet
 Shril echo through the grove.
 They with their little warbling throats
 Salute the rising day ;
 And in untaught, but pleasing strains,
 Their grateful homage pay.
 Oh, let us too, with souls sincere,
 Adore that pow'r divine,
 Who makes yon orb move thus com-
 plete,
 Who bade his rays to shine ;
 Who morning, noon, and ev'ning too
 Hath with his favours blest,
 And kindly gives the night's still
 shade,
 For wearied man to rest.



True happiness.

I Envy not the proud their wealth,
 Their equipage and state ;
 Give me but innocence and health ;
 I ask not to be great.
 I in a sweet retirement find
 A joy unknown to kings ;
 For sceptres, to a virtuous mind,
 Seem vain and empty things.
 Great Cincinnatus, at his plough,
 With brighter lustre shone,
 Than guilty Cæsar e'er could shew,
 Tho' seated on a throne.
 Tumultuous days, and restless nights,
 Ambition ever knows ;
 A stranger to the calm delights
 Of study and repose.
 Then free from envy, care and strife,
 Keep me, ye pow'rs divine ;
 And pleas'd, when you demand my
 life,
 May I that life resign.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

LONDON.

April 23. The diet of Poland has at length nearly finished its sitting, which has been the longest and most violent ever known in that kingdom. The result of their deliberations on the state of the nation, are to the following effect :

Military establishment—one hundred thousand men.

Annual expense—computed at forty-eight millions, five hundred and thirty-one thousand Polish florins, or about four millions sterling.

Additional revenue to pay it—A tax of ten per cent. on the revenues of the clergy, and church lands, excepting such as belong to hospitals and convents.

April 24. Pamphlets, chiefly in the form of dialogue, are disseminating among the French peasantry, treating on the natural rights and liberties of mankind. To this practice no opposition is made by the government.

The French have, with their usual gallantry, gone further than ourselves in the plan of their representation. They have given to ladies the right of voting, and of sending representatives to the general assembly.

April 25. The benevolent institutions in this kingdom, for the relief of distress, and the encouragement of virtue, are, it must be allowed, very numerous, and supported with a spirit that does honour to the humanity of the inhabitants at large. In addition to those, one has lately been instituted in this metropolis, called the philanthropic society, for the effectual relief of those who are justly termed the out-casts of society—that is, the children of the vagrant and profligate poor, who, in their present condition, are destined to succeed to the hereditary vices of their parents, and to become, in the next race, beggars and thieves.

The latest reports announce the death of the emperor.

The king of Sweden has obtained all his views of the diet, the equestrian order having not only agreed to the act of union and safety, but to all the other resolutions taken, by the fencer committee, and the other three

orders, whereby the crown debts, from Charles XII. to the present, and all in future, are guaranteed and secured, as payable by the nation.

April 30. The clergy of the Vermandois, have spontaneously and unanimously renounced all their exemptions and pecuniary privileges. Many other religious confraternities have followed so laudable and generous an example.

On Wednesday last the gold medal was voted by the society for the encouragement of arts, to capt. Peckingham of the navy, for his valuable invention of steering a ship, by an apparatus that can be fitted to the mast in a second, in the event of a rudder being carried away in a storm.

Progress of English arts. The amphitheatre, on which Humphreys and Mendoza are to box, is entirely finished;—it forms an octagon, and will contain two thousand persons; but there are only fifteen hundred tickets worked off, at half a guinea each.

Such were the shows, that erst in Rome,

Prefag'd her rapid, final doom;

What Rome now is, shall Britain be:
For scenes like these unnerve the
tree.

The Venetians have met with a great loss at the isle of Corfu. The arsenal accidentally, it is supposed, took fire on the 11th of March, which communicated to the powder magazine. A terrible explosion then took place, by which a fleet of galleys was almost entirely destroyed, together with all the stores, and the wall that surrounded the arsenal. The number of lives lost was one hundred and sixty, besides the prisoners; and there have been a multitude wounded.

May 12. One objection to the new government in America, is the expense of it. But a gentleman from that country assures us, that the annual expense of the president and congress will not amount to so much, as is annually allowed here to the prince of Wales. Surely that people must be poor indeed—or their complaints are groundless. [The annual income of the prince of Wales is ninety thousand pounds sterling—four hundred thousand dollars—and at the rates agreed to by congress, supposing that body to sit all the year round, the salaries of

the president, vice-president, senate, representatives, secretaries of departments, and the judiciary, would not amount to near two thirds of the sum allowed to one lavish young fellow—two hundred and sixty thousand dollars being the extent of it, from an accurate calculation.]

House of commons. May 20.

Slave trade.

Alderman Newnham presented a petition against the abolition of the slave trade, from the merchants and ship owners of the city of London, desiring to be heard by counsel.

Lord Penrhyn presented petitions against the abolition, from the planters in the British plantations; the planters' mortgagees, and annuitants from the town of Liverpool; the merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa; the manufacturers of, and dealers in, iron, copper and brass, of the town of Liverpool; the sail-makers of Liverpool; the coopers of Liverpool; the shipwrights of Liverpool; the gun-makers of Liverpool; the block-makers of Liverpool; and from the bakers of Liverpool; all desiring to be heard by counsel, against the abolition of the African trade.

Mr. Blackburn presented a petition from the manufacturers of goods for the African trade, resident in and about Manchester, against the abolition.

Mr. Gascoyne presented a petition against the abolition of the trade, from the mayor, aldermen, and corporation of Liverpool.

Mr. Alderman Watson presented a petition against the abolition, from the merchants, mortgagees, and other creditors of the sugar colonies; and he took that opportunity of declaring his opinion to be, that a speedy abolition would be repugnant to humanity, to justice, and to sound reason.

Lord Maitland presented a petition from messrs. Burton and Hutchinson, agents for the island of Antigua, against the abolition.

These petitions were all received, read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Paris, April 16.

A deputation, it is said, is arrived from the French American colonies, to demand a discussion of their rights, by the *etats generaux*. This deputation consists of thirty-two members,

who will be reduced to a more convenient number.

AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE,

New York, July 6.

Saturday last, being the fourth of July, when America entered on the fourteenth year of her independency, the same was observed here with every demonstration of joy; at sun-rise, a salute was fired from the fort; at six o'clock, the legionary troops of general Malcom's brigade, under the command of lieutenant colonel Chrystie, paraded; then they marched to the fields, where, in the presence of a large and respectable concourse of spectators, they went through a number of manœuvres, in a manner that would reflect credit on disciplined troops. At twelve o'clock, a feu-de-joie was fired by col. Bauman's regiment of artillery and the legion: at the same hour, the honourable society of the Cincinnati marched in procession to St. Paul's church, where an eulogium, on the memory of the late general Greene, was delivered by the hon. col. Hamilton, in the presence of both houses of congress, and a number of other personages of distinction; after which, they returned in the same form to the city-tavern, where they partook of an entertainment provided for the occasion, drank a number of patriotic toasts, (a discharge of cannon to each), and spent the day and evening in a manner that ever distinguishes the sons of Columbia on this memorable anniversary.

With pleasure we announce, that the president is considerably recovered from his late indisposition, and has for these few days past, been able to take an airing in his carriage; but still we are sorry to say, that his excellency was not sufficiently recovered, to partake of the joys of that auspicious day.

Boston, July 23.

The society of the Cincinnati of the state of Rhode Island, at their annual meeting at Newport, on the 4th inst. expressed their disapprobation of the iniquitous tender-law of that state, by erasing the name of Joseph Arnold, of Warwick, from the list of their members, for discharging a specie debt with their depreciated paper currency.

A letter from Seneca, South Carolina, dated June 4, says, "About three days ago, three men were killed and scalped by the Creeks, at a place called the Mulberry, on the frontiers of Georgia: it is also reported here, that a large number of Creeks are on their way for Tugaloo, in consequence of which, guards are posted there, in order to protect the inhabitants. Yesterday, I heard that four hundred were seen on their march towards that place: God only knows what the event will be."

A prospectus has been published at Paris, offering to report the proceedings of the three estates, in the same manner, as the debates in the two houses of parliament are done in the English prints. Speaking, in these proposals, of the liberty of the press, the writer expresses himself in a manner the most singular. "It is on this palladium alone," says he, "that France is to rely, for all her future greatness; it was through the freedom of the press, that Ireland was impelled to make those successful efforts, by which she released herself from the subjugation, in which she was held by the English parliament; and it is to this alone," continues this Frenchman, of the eighteenth century, "that England herself is indebted for the small remains of liberty, which exist at present in that kingdom!!!"

July 22. The legislature of the united states has, at length, finally determined on the salaries of the great officers of state, viz. to the president, twenty-five thousand dollars, to the vice-president, five thousand dollars, per annum—to each senator and representative, six dollars, per diem—and to the chairman or speaker of the house of representatives, twelve dollars, per diem.

July 29. The president of the united states was so well, as to receive visits of compliment from many official characters and citizens yesterday.

Baltimore, July 28.

The legislature of the state of New York have passed a law for appointing seven commissioners, with full power to declare their assent, that a certain territory, (Vermont) within the jurisdiction of that state, should be formed or erected into a new state; and Robert Yates, Rufus

King, and Gulian Verplanck, esquires, are appointed for that purpose; to whom are added, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Varick, Simon De Witt, and John Lansing, jun. esquires, who were chosen by the senate.

Georgetown, July 22.

A letter from a gentleman in Kentucky, dated June 22, says, "The Indians have lately paid a visit to our new settlement on Green river, and murdered five persons, who had only arrived there a few weeks before. As this settlement lies at a considerable distance from the inhabited parts, it is feared, that the new settlers will be much exposed to the fury of the savages—who take every opportunity to distress our country, where they find us weak, and off our guard."

"Sad experience has fully convinced us, that treaties with those people have only lulled us into an imaginary state of safety, for which hundreds have paid with their lives: in a word, as long as we remain weak as we are, without support and aid from the Atlantic states, Kentucky must remain the theatre of murder and devastations."

Petersburg, July 9.

Virginia cloth—of excellent quality, and very cheap—may be purchased, almost every day, of the country people who come to town, for the purpose of making sale of it. It is infinitely superior to any thing of the kind imported, and wears remarkably well. This cloth is made of cotton, woven with great taste, and by the ingenuity of our fair, has been brought to such perfection, as to be preferred by many to the European manufactures. Several gentlemen have furnished themselves with full suits of this cloth: and, as many others are anxious to obtain it, we hope that every one, who professes himself to be a Virginian, will be distinguished by his cloth, as it will be promoting the manufactures of our country, and giving that encouragement to industry, which it ought ever to meet with.

D I E D.

In Philadelphia.—Laur. Keene, esq.—Mrs. Mary Procter.—Colonel Benjamin G. Eyres.—Mr. Armitage.

In Baltimore.—T. Russell, esq.

At Alexandria.—Mr. G. Richards.

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ESSAY on drunkenness—Presentments of the grand jury of Washington county—Description novi generis plantæ—&c. &c. are under consideration.

AN American's remarks on a passage in the life of Capt. Cooke—remarks on the cause and cure of the gout—&c. &c. shall appear in our next.

SUNDRY other favours are received.